

SOCIOLOGY

— AND —

SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

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LOS ANGELES

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS

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I FANCY that if a physicist could question the atoms as to why they behave as they do in the case, say, of combustion, he would jump at the chance. I suspect that if an embryologist could interview the microscopic participants in the fertilization of the ovum and learn why each moves as it does, he would consider himself in great luck. Of course the observation of behavior and the noting of its correlations with all manner of influencing conditions is the only feasible procedure when we study lower animals, human infants, the subnormal, sleep walkers, the hypnotized, and the drugged.

But after observing as shrewdly as may be the behavior of normal persons, much light may be had from inquiring into motive or object. I meet a noisy wedding in the street of a Chinese town. The sharpest scanning of the behavior of the participants quite fails to disclose to me what they think they are doing; their conception of the situation in which they are acting. And yet, unless I can explore their ideas and motives how could I forecast how they would behave if such weddings were arbitrarily modified or obstructed or repressed? How could I judge whether the wedding is salutary or demoralizing in the impression it

leaves upon the minds of bride and groom or of unmarried participants?

I will go as far as anyone in urging the observation and measurement of behavior and then recording its forms and intensity under all sorts of modified conditions; yet I shall continue to believe that the method of interviewing individuals and getting at their picture of the situation they react to—with due safeguard, of course, against being misled—must play a great role in the technique of the social investigator.

How unaccountable behavior may be lighted up by a peep into motive comes out in a case told me by a friend. A poor lone Chinese charwoman in the American Consulate at Hongkong was found to have adopted a small waif. My friend said to her in half pigeon English, "Nanny, what for you take a boy? As it is you can hardly live on the few coppers a day you catch. Why you make your life harder by taking this boy to raise?"

Back came an answer which lights up the Chinese theory of the importance of sons.

"If I no have son how can I get chow (food) when I grow too old to work?"

What to the American onlooker appeared an unconsidered obedience to blind maternal instinct turned out to be an act as rational as taking out an old age endowment policy.

Reflexes, instinctive responses, may perhaps be looked upon as if they were physical or chemical reactions which you may observe and record, vary and correlate until a generalization presents itself. But deliberate human behavior should not be regarded as a simple reaction. How often a person says, "Let me think it over," "Give me a chance to make up my mind." A judicious interview with such a one just before he acts may make clear the

motive or intent of his behavior as nothing else could. Is there any likelihood that we could get far in interpreting and hence in ultimately influencing the behavior of girls who go wrong, of boys who run away from home, of divorce seekers, of professional hoboos, of machine politicians, of left wingers, of foreign missionaries, of settlement workers, or of municipal reformers unless we could somehow explore their minds and arrive at their real motives by means of confessions, autobiographies, interviews, etc.?

Here, I think, is the reason why the methods of social scientists can never be entirely assimilated to those of the natural sciences.

Another difference is that the natural sciences can arrive at eternal laws because the qualities of their subject matter do not change. The chemical element is the same yesterday, today and forever and the behavior of bisulphide of carbon is the same now as it was when the morning stars sang together. On the other hand, the reactions of human beings in a given situation may differ not only because of congenital individual differences, but also because they are conditioned by the culture they have been reared in. The same affront may call forth quite unlike behavior in an Eskimo, an East Indian, and a Briton. Those who have imbibed the Western culture in a great variety of situations will react quite otherwise than those bred in the culture of China, or that of India, or that of the Near East. The social sciences cannot hope, therefore, to arrive at eternal laws as can the chemist or the histologist. This, however, need not make us downhearted, for to be able accurately to predict how those of our own culture will react to a given condition or experience is a service signal enough to justify our existence.

G. H. MEAD'S SOCIAL CONCEPT OF THE SELF

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THE DEATH of Dr. George Herbert Mead of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Chicago is a great loss to modern philosophy and contemporary social thought. In him the academic world has lost one of its most profound thinkers. Though his writings are not numerous, he has exercised, nevertheless, a profound and lasting influence upon American social thought. During the long years of his professorial career Dr. Mead has been instrumental in shaping and moulding the philosophical point of view of a large number of the present leaders of American social thought. If it is said of Machiavelli that he had marched into the hall of fame with only a small volume under his arm, it might equally well be said of Dr. Mead that he has attained wide recognition with only a few short essays in social psychology. It is quality, and not quantity, that counts. The unique character of Dr. Mead's mind enabled him to embody in a few short essays a larger amount of information than could be found in several volumes written by less gifted men and dealing with the same subject-matter. Each one of Dr. Mead's essays is a masterpiece in logic and exposition. The merit of his work is widely recognized. Of all modern social philosophers he is, perhaps, most quoted and least criticized. Few books in social psychology of real merit have appeared in which Dr. Mead is not quoted. This is particularly true of those books which are dealing with the problem of the 'self'. Narrow and trivial as this topic may appear to some,

it constitutes, nevertheless, the most abstruse, the most subtle, and the most difficult problem in philosophy and social psychology.

The eternal problem of the self has been studied by the philosophers of all ages and no satisfactory solution has been found. To this problem Dr. Mead had devoted his life work, and he has, apparently, succeeded in formulating a theory of the nature and function of the self which has received wide acceptance.

Possessing a rare capacity for generalization, Professor Mead has developed what one might call a "functional" theory of the self, which represents the culmination of modern philosophical thought on this particular topic.

Recognizing the great influence which the writings of Professor Mead have had upon social theory in the United States, the present writer will attempt to make a brief examination of the most salient features of Professor Mead's theory of the self. The chief aim of this cursory survey is to show the nature of the main conceptual hypotheses upon which his theory of the self rests, and to indicate the points of contact that these concepts make with the philosophical thought in general.

THE CONCEPT OF THE PSYCHICAL

Professor Mead's theory of the self cannot be understood very well without getting first a clear and definite knowledge of his concept of the 'psychical', and of the fundamental philosophical principles, in terms of which the nature and function of the self is defined.

Professor Mead's concept of the mind is similar to that of William James, F. Woodbridge, and John Dewey. Consciousness is teleological or purposive; it serves as a tool in the adjustment of the individual to his environment. It is also selective; previous experience serves to determine

the nature of the stimuli attended to. Professor Mead rejected the concept of the mind as a "spiritual stuff" and returned the contents of the mind to things experienced.

"The natures of the objects are in the objects, they are of the very essence of the objects. . . . Sensuous qualities exist also in the objects, but only in their relations to the sensitive organism whose environments they form."¹ The objective content of consciousness, such as memory images, are dependent upon the conditions of the organism, especially those of the central nervous system, "but they are not mental or spiritual stuff."

Professor Mead defines sensation in terms of *act* and not in terms of *content*, and thus aligns himself with functional psychology. Objects exist in nature as patterns of action. Environment arises for the organism through the selective power of attention that is determined by its impulses seeking expression. The stream of ongoing activities of the organism defines its world for the organism. The physical object is a mental construct, and a percept is a "collapsed act."² Concepts, according to Professor Mead, have the character of actions which are directed toward the attainment of an end. The same point of view is voiced by Professor J. Royce, according to whom "Ideas are like tools, they are there for an end."³ Professor Stout also thinks that "Ideas are plans of action."⁴ Professor Mead appears to be accepting the pragmatic point of view that ideas are not true in themselves, but represent labor-saving devices or abbreviating schemes for dealing with the vast and chaotic manifold of sensations.

¹ G. H. Mead, "A Behavioristic Account of the Significant Symbol," *Journal of Philosophy*, XIX:157 ff.

² G. H. Mead, "The Mechanism of Social Consciousness," *Journal of Philosophy*, IX (1912), 401.

³ J. Royce, *The World and the Individual*, I:308.

⁴ Stout, *Analytic Psychology*, II:114, 124.

From the pragmatic point of view also things are real only in so far as they constitute the objects of our desires. Objects are defined in terms of conduct, hence the doctrine that social consciousness must antedate physical consciousness. Thus, according to Professor Mead, "Whatever our theory may be as to the history of things, social consciousness must antedate physical consciousness. A more correct statement would be that experience in its original form became reflective in the recognition of selves, and only gradually was there differentiated a reflective experience of things which are purely physical."⁵ In this connection Professor Mead is in line with the teachings of Hegel and Royce.⁶

It is of interest here to note that Professor Cooley advocated a point of view which is diametrically opposed to that of Professor Mead. According to Professor Cooley, our rational and conceptual knowledge develops in dealing with the material world, while for the purpose of understanding social facts and the "internal contacts" we are in possession of "a vast and obscure outfit of human susceptibilities, known as instincts, sentiments, emotions, drives, and the like" which furnish personal and social knowledge.⁷ This, of course, is in line with Bergson's argument to the effect that intellect "feels itself at home among inanimate objects, more especially among solids, where our action finds its fulcrum and our industry its tools."⁸

For Professor Mead the 'psychical' is not the content of consciousness, but the cognitive act of the mind.⁹ Sensa-

⁵ G. H. Mead, "What Social Objects Must Psychology Presuppose?" *Journal of Philosophy*, VII:180 f.

⁶ J. Royce, "External World and the Social Consciousness," *Philos. Review*, III: 513-45; see also J. Royce, "Self-consciousness, Social Consciousness and Nature," *Philos. Review*, IV:473.

⁷ C. H. Cooley, "The Roots of Social Knowledge," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXII:66 ff.

⁸ *L'Evolution creatrice*, English translation, p. ix.

⁹ G. H. Mead, "What Social Objects Must Psychology Presuppose?" *Journal of Philosophy*, VII:180 ff.

tions are not psychical. They are parts of the data which define the conditions under which the immediate problem is to be solved. The 'psychical' is the synthetic activity of the mind. In his theory of reality Professor Mead seems to stand on the middle ground between Idealism and Materialism. His philosophy is that of 'immediate experience'; reality is composed of a 'neutral stuff', which is neither physical nor psychical. In conflicting situations "mutually contradicting attitudes toward an object cause the disintegration of the object; the subject and object, the ego and alter, disappear from the field of consciousness which becomes protoplasmic." In this protoplasmic state of consciousness *content* and *process* cannot be distinguished.

Disintegration is followed by reconstruction. Judgment is the process of reconstruction. Disintegration and reconstruction of the object necessitate a definition of the problem. The solution of the problem takes place within the field of subjectivity, which is a 'neutral stuff', neither 'me' nor other, neither mind nor body. The world provides the data and the self provides the hypothesis for the solution of the problem. But it is not the individual as 'me' that can perform this solution. Such an empirical self belongs to the world which it is the function of this phase of consciousness to reconstruct.¹⁰ It is the Ego or the 'I' that effects the reconstruction. The result of the reconstruction will be a new individual (a new empirical self), as well as a new social environment. In the process of reconstruction "the consciousness of the new object, its values and meaning, seem to come earlier to consciousness than the new self that answers to the new object."¹¹ The self is not a con-

¹⁰ G. H. Mead, *The Definition of the Psychical*, p. 34.

¹¹ G. H. Mead, "The Social Self," *Journal of Philosophy*, X:378.

tent but an activity, and is defined in terms of the laws of analysis and construction.

Briefly stated, Professor Mead's theory of the 'psychical' rests upon the following propositions: The self is central to all so-called mental experiences; the '*I*' or the Ego is identical with the analytic and synthetic processes of cognition, which in conflicting situations reconstruct out of the 'protoplasmic' states of consciousness both the empirical self (the '*me*') and the world of objects; the objective world is a mental construct and is defined in terms of the needs of the '*I*' or the Ego.

Professor Mead retains the concept of the Ego or '*I*' in his psychological system. He deplores the fact that William James has so harshly dealt with it. "There is nothing," says Mead, "that has suffered more through loss of dignity of content in modern positivistic psychology than the '*I*'. The '*me*' has been most honorably dealt with. It has waxed in diameter and interest, not to speak of number, with continued analysis, while the '*I*' has been forced from its metaphysical throne, and robbed of all its ontological garments; and the rags of 'feeling of effort about the head and chest', of the 'focalization of sense-organs', the 'furrowings of the eye-brows' seems but a sorry return for the antique dogmas."¹²

Professor Mead accepts the distinction between the '*I*' and the '*me*' found in the philosophy of Kant and in post-Kantian Idealism. He agrees with Kant that "the self cannot appear in consciousness as an '*I*', and that it is always an object, i.e., a '*me*', and that the '*me*' is inconceivable without an '*I*.'" He also maintains the Kantian point of view "that such an '*I*' is a presupposition, but never a presentation of conscious experience."¹³ The '*I*' is thus the

¹² G. H. Mead, *The Definition of the Psychical* (University of Chicago Press, 1903), p. 30.

¹³ G. H. Mead, "The Social Self," *Journal of Philosophy*, X:374.

result of cognitive inference. "The '*I*' therefore can never exist as an object in consciousness, but the very conversational character of our inner experience, the very process of replying to one's own talk, implies an '*I*' behind the scenes who answers to the gestures, the symbols, that arise in consciousness. The '*I*' is the transcendental self of Kant, the soul that James conceived behind the scene holding on to the skirts of an idea to give it an added increment of emphasis."¹⁴

For Professor Mead the Ego is an *act*. "It is an act that makes use of all the data that reflection can present, but used them merely as the conditions of the new world that cannot possibly be foretold from them."¹⁵ The '*I*' appears to be unconditioned and free; it is an *activity* and not a *content*. "It is the self of unconditioned choice, of undreamt hypotheses, of inventions that change the whole face of nature."¹⁶ The '*I*' is the active agent in the solution of problems and in the reconstruction of experience. As the '*I*' is always "out of sight of himself" the empirical self or the '*me*' becomes the object of scientific investigation.¹⁷

THE CATEGORIES OF 'FORM' AND 'CONTENT' IN THE GENESIS OF THE SELF

The concepts of 'form' and 'content' are important categories in Professor Mead's theory of the genesis of the self. The concept of the '*form of social object*' is basic in his explanation of the nature of self-consciousness. The role of the 'form of the social object' in Professor Mead's theory

¹⁴ G. H. Mead, "The Mechanism of Social Consciousness," *Journal of Philosophy*, IX (1912), 406.

¹⁵ G. H. Mead, *The Definition of the Psychical*, p. 35.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 35 f.

¹⁷ G. H. Mead, "The Mechanism of the Social Consciousness," *Journal of Philosophy*, IX (1912), 406.

of the genesis of self-consciousness can best be understood if we examine it in the light of idealistic philosophy. Idealism assumes substance as being the synthesis of the categories of 'form' and 'matter', the latter being *ab initio* formless and chaotic. According to Kant the 'manifold of the senses' is formless, chaotic, to which the mind applies its categories of form, space, time, etc., in synthesizing objective reality. For Hegel the 'form' is the active principle. His 'concrete universals' are logical forms from which all reality is deduced in the same manner as a conclusion is deduced from its premises. His highest category, the Notion, is a free and infinite form.

Professor Mead regards sense-experience as protoplasmic, amorphous and unorganized. It will not become a self unless it assumes the 'form of a social object' which is derived in the experience of other selves. In the process of the development of self-consciousness, "the mere presence of experience of pleasure and pain, together with organic sensations, will not form an object unless this material can fall into the scheme of an object."¹⁸ The scheme or form into which the amorphous experience is poured, is furnished by other social beings. Even in the case of objective consciousness of one's own body, "The form of the object is given in the experience of things, which are not his physical self." . . . "The appearance of his (the child's) body as a unitary thing, as an object, will be relatively late and must follow up the structure of the objects of his environment. This is as true of the object that appears in social conduct, the self." . . . "The form of the social object must be found first of all in the experience of other selves."¹⁹

¹⁸ G. H. Mead, "The Mechanism of Social Consciousness," *Journal of Philosophy*, IX (1912), 404

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

Professor Mead's theory of self-consciousness consists thus of the assumption that the empirical self, or '*me*', is the synthesis of the amorphous subjective experience with the objective 'form' furnished by the social object, or another self. His theory of self-consciousness is stated as follows: "It (the form) is rather an importation from the field of social objects into an amorphous unorganized field of what we call inner experience. Through the organization of this object, the self, this material is itself organized and brought under control of the individual in the form of so-called self-consciousness."²⁰

TRANSCERENCE OF THE FORM OF THE SOCIAL OBJECT TO INNER EXPERIENCE

According to Professor Mead the transference of the 'form of the social object' from the environment to one's inner experience takes place in the use of vocal gestures. By means of vocal gestures the individual stimulates himself in the same manner as he stimulates others. Self-stimulation and response create the form of the social object to which the amorphous subjective experience is referred. This gives rise to the self as an object. "What is there in human social conduct," asks Mead, "that gives rise to '*me*', as a self which is an object? Why does the human animal transfer the form of a social object from his environment to an inner experience?"

To these questions he replies in the following manner: "The fact that the human animal can stimulate himself as he stimulates others and can respond to his stimulations as he responds to the stimulations of others, places in his conduct the form of social object out of which may arise a '*me*' to which can be referred so-called subjective experi-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

ences."²¹ In stimulating himself as others would do, the individual becomes an object to himself. "This takes place when the individual assumes the attitude or uses the gesture which other individuals would use, and responds to it himself, or tends to respond." . . . "It arises in the life of the infant through what is unfortunately called imitation, and finds expression in the normal play life of young children."²² The consciousness of the self arises when the individual in imitation takes the attitude of another toward himself. In acting out his role of another, the individual discovers that the activities belong to his own nature. "We must be others before we are ourselves."²³

Now, it stands to reason that the meaning of the term 'self' cannot be learned by imitation of other individuals, because each individual attaches to it a different meaning; the contents of each individual self are uniquely organized in conformity with his own perspective upon the world. According to Professor Mead himself, "the ongoing activity of the individual form marks and defines its world for the form, which thus exists for it as it does not for any other form."²⁴ The importation of the 'form of the social object' into one's inner consciousness involves comparison, and comparison is a relation which cannot take place unless both terms, the self and the other, are present in consciousness. We cannot consciously be others unless we know what we are ourselves. And to be a 'generalized other' means to be an abstraction, a nonentity. Imitation as such cannot generate self-consciousness; it may only intensify

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

²² G. H. Mead, "A Behavioristic Account of the Significant Symbol," *Journal of Philosophy*, XIX (1922), 160.

²³ G. H. Mead, "Genesis of Self and Social Control," *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXV: 276. The same doctrine is expressed by J. W. Scott as follows: "For as conscious I am others; I am many men in one," *Proceedings Aristotle Society*, XX (1919-1920), 130.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 256-57; 259-60.

it if it exists at the outset. Psychologists usually distinguish two kinds of imitation, conscious or voluntary, and unconscious imitation. Now if the child imitates voluntarily by performing acts set before him by social examples, then the act of imitation represents an activity which presupposes self-consciousness at the outset as a motive to bring his own self into conformity with social patterns of behavior. But if the imitative act is unconscious or 'sub-cortical', then no consciousness of the self will ever arise in the imitative process. No parrot has ever become self-conscious, but many "self-conscious" individuals have become parrots.

THE CONCEPT OF THE 'GENERALIZED OTHER'

In his theory of the genesis of self-consciousness Professor Mead has developed another concept, namely, the 'generalized other', which is closely related to the 'form of the social object'. According to Mead we sympathetically assume the roles of others and find in our own experiences the responses of others. The 'generalized other' develops in the process of communication. "Communication," says Mead, "is the mechanism by means of which the individual enters the perspective of the community."²⁵ In games or in other organized group activities the individual is able then to become a 'generalized other' in addressing himself in the attitude of the group, or the community. In this situation he has become a definite self over against the social whole to which he belongs.²⁶ In the process of communication, the self, which is revealed, is not the '*I*', but the empirical self, or the '*me*'. The '*I*' is an activity, and as such it cannot appear at the same time as subject and ob-

²⁵ G. H. Mead, "The Objective Reality of Perspectives," in the *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy*, 1926, p. 80.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

ject. "We can be conscious of our acts only through the sensory process set up after the act has begun."

The notion of the 'generalized other' rests upon the assumption that originally the self is only objectively conscious, and that the child is consciously affected by others before he is conscious of being affected by himself, and that we naturally interpret ourselves in terms of others. In the opinion of the present writer there is no such stage of pure objective consciousness; the interpretation of the self in terms of others implies reasoning by analogy; it involves the consciousness of both terms of the subject-object relationship. It is rather doubtful whether a young child can ever arrive at the notion of the 'generalized other', which is a conceptual abstraction derived from mature experience.

THE SOCIAL SELF

For Professor Mead the content of consciousness is of social origin. "Inner consciousness is socially organized by the importation of the social organization of the outer world." The consciousness of others precedes self-consciousness. The '*I*' can never appear immediately in consciousness and can never be conscious of itself. The self appearing as '*I*' is the memory image of the self who acted toward himself and is the same self who acts toward other selves. The stuff that goes to make up the '*me*' is the experience which is induced by this action of the '*I*'. "The '*me*' consciousness is of the same character as that which arises from the action of the other upon him. That is, it is only as the individual finds himself acting with reference to himself as he acts towards others, that he becomes a subject to himself rather than object, and only as he is affected by his own social conduct in the same manner in which he is affected by that of others, that he becomes an object to his own social conduct."²⁷

²⁷ G. H. Mead, "The Social Self," *Journal of Philosophy*, X (1913), 374-75.

In his analysis of the social self, Professor Mead calls our attention to the fact that there is a "constant factor" of awareness of what we do, say, or think, in the field of our consciousness. It is a sort of inner response to our activities. This 'inner observer' is not to be confused with the 'I', or the implied object of our actions. "The observer," says Mead, "who accompanies all our self-conscious conduct is then not the actual 'I' who is responsible for the conduct in *propria persona*—he is rather the response which one makes to his own conduct."²⁸ This response of the individual to his own stimulations is due to the fact that one "cannot hear himself speak without assuming in a measure the attitude which he would have assumed if he had been addressed in the same words by another."²⁹ There is, then, another empirical self, another 'me' which Professor Mead calls the '*reflective self*'.

THOUGHT AND THE MEANING OF VOCAL GESTURES

According to Professor Mead, thought is an inner conversation in which the self becomes an object to himself; he hears himself talk and replies. Mead thinks that "the mechanism of introspection is therefore given in the social attitude which man necessarily assumes toward himself, and the mechanism of thought, in so far as thought uses symbols which are used in social intercourse, is but an inner conversation."³⁰ Thought, then, is an inner conversation, and develops in connection with the development of the self in experience. It is a sublimated conversation between the self and the imagined specific other or the 'generalized other'.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 376-77.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 377-78.

Reflective consciousness presupposes a social situation, and language is the outgrowth of vocal gestures. Gestures are instrumental in the development of the consciousness of meaning. The meaning of a gesture arises when one imagines the social consequences of a gesture. "One's own gestures could not take on meaning directly. The gestures aroused by them in others would be that upon which attention is centered. And these gestures become identified with the content of one's own emotional attitude."³¹

There is much truth in this statement. But the present writer thinks that the meaning of gestures is not wholly determined from without, particularly in regard to one's emotional gestures. It was previously assumed by Professor Mead that human consciousness is teleological, or purposive, serving as a tool in the adjustment process. It was also assumed that consciousness is selective, determining the direction of attention, and the nature of the stimuli attended to. If this is true, the meaning of one's gestures is not wholly determined from without. An action cannot be conscious and purposive without having at the same time a meaning. My gesture consciously directed toward others has a meaning for me as calculated to arouse certain anticipated reactions and attitudes in others. The meaning of my own act or gesture is not always the same as the responding gesture or attitude of my neighbor. My gesture does not always arouse an identical gesture and emotion in the other fellow. The meaning of my vocal gesture is not, for instance, determined by the gestures provoked in an insane person, or in a child, or animal.

Language gestures are symbols of things, attributes, relations, and meanings. Though they are social products, their meaning is determined in one's subjective experience.

³¹ G. H. Mead, "Social Psychology, as Counterpart of Physiological Psychology," *Psychology Bulletin*, VI (1909), 406-407.

A vocal gesture has the same relation to an idea, or mental image, as a label on a package has to the contents of the package. Thought is not sublimated conversation, but that which makes the sublimated conversation possible. There is no natural and unalterable connection between a concept and its verbal symbol. Symbols do not determine the meaning of mental images, but mental images determine the meaning of symbols conditioned to the meaning. One can hardly agree with Professor Mead that all meanings are socially determined, and that social consciousness antedates physical consciousness. However, there are passages in Professor Mead's writings which indicate that meaning can be explained as a consciousness of an attitude of an individual toward an object to which he is responding. The latter point of view has been widely accepted.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Professor Mead assumes that social relations are internal: they modify the attitudes of the interacting individuals. The consciousness of meaning presupposes the existence of self-consciousness. The subjective aspect of the self is identified with psychic activity. In his later writings Professor Mead developed the relational theory of the mind resembling that of Woodbridge and Montague.³²

His theory of the self represents a logical deduction from certain fundamental propositions. Some of these propositions, such as the analytic and constructive activity of the self; the doctrine of the social form; the amorphous nature of sense-experience; the centered position of the self, indicate plainly the idealistic antecedents of his theory of the self.

³² G. H. Mead, "A Behavioristic Account of the Significant Symbol," *Journal of Philosophy*, XIX:157-63.

The concept of the 'generalized other' is a word-hypothesis, rather than an empirical fact obtained by observation. The point of view that we must be others if we are to be ourselves, and that other selves in social environment logically antedate the consciousness of self, has not been consistently maintained throughout all his essays, and the hypothesis has been advanced that "the self arises in consciousness *pari passu* with the recognition and definition of other selves."³³ The latter view is more plausible than the former. Social situations no doubt promote the development of self-consciousness, but to maintain the idea that we are 'generalized others' before we are ourselves, is a sheer metaphysical speculation. No less fantastic is the assumption that "we cannot use our responses to others as the materials for construction of the self,—this imagery goes to make up the other selves."³⁴

In one connection Professor Mead speaks of the '*me*' as the real self, which is an importation into the inner consciousness of the social organization of the outer world. In another connection the '*me*' is only a presentation to the '*I*', an objective datum, like any other presentation, which disintegrates in conflicting situations, and has to be reconstructed by the real self, the '*I*' which is defined "in terms of the laws of analysis and construction."³⁵

For Professor Mead, then, the real attitude of subjectivity (self-consciousness) resides in the '*I*', and the conflicting impulses of the '*I*' constitute the subject-matter of functional psychology.³⁶ The '*I*' is an activity, a process; the '*me*' is the content. But, according to Mead, "what

³³ G. H. Mead, "Psychology of Social Consciousness Implied in Instruction," *Science*, XXXI:691-92. See also his article, "The Objective Reality of Perspectives," *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy*, 1926, p. 81.

³⁴ G. H. Mead, "The Mechanism of Social Consciousness," *Journal of Philosophy*, IX (1912), 406.

³⁵ G. H. Mead, *The Definition of the Psychological*, p. 34.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

the content of the function is going to be is dependent upon the character of the process."³⁷ Thus, Professor Mead's point of view appears to be that the '*me*', or the empirical self, is constructed in conformity with the impulses and needs of the '*I*'. To contend then, as Professor Mead does, that the empirical self is exclusively a social product, is to use the term in a narrow sense following the tradition of idealistic philosophy. Social facts are not the only conditioning factors in the genesis of self-consciousness; one's contact with the physical world must have a share in arousing self-consciousness. An individual need not assume the role of a 'generalized other' in order to realize that he is self-conscious.

Professor Mead has given us what one might call a logical explanation of the nature of the self. The idealistic assumption, namely, that self-consciousness arises only in the presence of other selves, is the main theme of his essays. He has not availed himself of the data furnished by genetic and abnormal psychology bearing upon the problem of the self. However, the most promising sources of data as to the nature and function of the self lie undoubtedly in these fields.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

A CHINESE STUDENT AND WESTERN CULTURE

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[A personal sketch indicating the enlargement of the writer's contact with the Western cultural traits, and, at the same time, showing the Western cultural influences on China.]

ABOUT ten months ago I was in Asia—the Old World, which is considered by many to have been the original home of mankind, and where exists one of the oldest nations on earth, which has a civilization more than four thousand years old, and whose culture is generally regarded as one of the finest things man has ever achieved. But now I am in America—the New World, where only savages had lived before Columbus, but which is now presenting to the whole world a new civilization with a force of gravitation which is attracting every part of the earth, and is bringing the West and the East together.

Not very long ago Kipling sang at the top of his voice:

East is East, and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet.

But, for my part, I feel that they have met already. Where? In myself. I have been brought up under the pressure of both East and West, and I realize that the very element of my life is the product of the two. Nobody really sees as I do without recognizing the fact that some cultural traits of both East and West are mixed in his personality.

How has all this come about? Let me examine myself; let me trace the development of my contact with the Western cultural traits from my boyhood up to the time when I left China.

I was born in a small village in Hainan Island in the South China Sea. According to Chinese historical records, from the Han dynasty (i.e., more than two thousand years ago) down to modern times, this Island has always been regarded as a "land of the savage." Even now few people of the outside world can realize what a process of westernization it has been going through. I am not going to write here a history of westernization for my native land, but I shall take note only of what I saw and what I experienced about some of the Western cultural traits when I was a small boy.

Since life in Hainan Island is rather hard for the people, many of the natives go to seek their living in the Malay Archipelago. Some of my relatives have emigrated into the Federated Malay States, and my uncle went to work there and has lived there since he was a boy. It was from them that I heard something about the "red hair foreign devils," as they call the Westerners, who can build ships as big as whales! When my uncle came home, he used to bring back such things as Mexican dollars, clocks, watches, biscuits, condensed milk, and some other foreign articles. Whenever he gave some of these things to me, I was always grateful. At that time I knew nothing outside of my village, and of course I did not realize that such things are traits of a foreign culture.

When I was a few years old, i.e., about fifteen years ago, I was sent to the village school to study by heart the Four Books under the rod of an old fashioned Chinese scholar. There was no variety in my study, and everything was dull and monotonous. But the next year, although I did not then know why and how, things in the school were entirely changed. We had a new teacher, who was rather young, and seemed to know everything. When I first saw him, the thing that struck me most was that he had his

hair cut short instead of dragging a queue behind him as our former teacher did. Who influenced him to cast aside the queue? I do not think I could answer this question then as I can answer it now. He taught us Chinese reading, arithmetic, drawing, singing, and physical training. In Chinese reading we did away with the Four Books, and were using the primers, with just a few big characters accompanied by some pictures indicating the meaning of those characters on each page. In drawing we were taught to use watercolors, and to copy real objects instead of drawing from our own imaginations, as Chinese artists usually do. In music we were taught to sing "do, re, me, fa, sol, etc.," instead of "wu, liu, kong, shih, chang, etc." In arithmetic we were taught to write in Arabic numerals instead of Chinese. In physical training we were conducted into the open field to exercise our limbs. As we marched into the field, we were accompanied by the blowing of trumpets and the beating of drums. We sang, we jumped, we raced; and I took a liking to all that sort of thing.

But our village folks had never heard of such things before. Sometimes they would come out and listen to our singing of the strange "do, re, me, fa, sol, . . ." without understanding what that all meant; sometimes they would come to the field, with curious eyes and disapproving hearts, watching us make our broad-jumps. All in all, they thought we were mad, but they did not know who imparted such madness to us. In addition to those new experiences, I also came to know what blackboards, chalk, pencils, and slates are. However, I did not then know where all those things originally came from as I do now.

Two years later I was sent to a neighboring village to study in a higher primary school. Here I was first taught English. Each week we had two hours of English. What is English? Why should I learn English? Whose language is this? Such questions I never asked, but I thought

Americans spoke, not English, but another different language. Our English teacher was a graduate of a middle school. Some people said he had been in Shanghai for a few days. "Shanghai is the most civilized place in China," the people of my district used to say. But how has it come to be the most civilized place in China? Nobody seemed to ask or to know this. As for me, whenever I heard its name mentioned, I always felt spellbound. Since the English teacher came from Shanghai, I thought he was wonderful. He used to wear a suit of foreign dress, a fur hat, a beautiful necktie, and a pair of black leather shoes, and carried a walking stick in his hand; and in this fashion he appeared to be the most civilized person I had ever seen in my district. I wanted to imitate him, and so to become civilized. I worshipped him then, but now he is one to be counted among those whom I morally and intellectually pity and despise!

Now let me return to my lesson in English. My first task was of course to learn by heart the twenty-six queer alphabetical signs. Having memorized them and practised them in writing, I was then taught to pronounce c-a-t "cat," d-o-g "dog," and so on and so forth. At that time I did not question my teacher's knowledge of English, and I did not know whether his English pronunciation was correct or not. But now I doubt that he was a good English teacher, and question whether such a way of teaching English in the Chinese village was of any use at all. As I studied English, I had to use "foreign paper," "foreign ink," and "foreign pens." All these things came to me as natural at the beginning of my life, and I took them as traits of my own culture. In fact they are going to remain in Chinese culture perhaps forever.

Another new experience for me in this school was that there were girls studying in the same class with me. That

was my first experience in co-education. I felt it rather queer in China, but now I am used to it since I entered Stanford.

After I had spent one year in the higher primary school, I faced the misfortune of my father's death, and my education was neglected. I stayed idly at home about one year, and then was sent to the Malay Peninsula to live with my uncle in the Federated Malay States. My mother and my brothers wanted me to learn some trade from my uncle and so to make some money for the family. I did not realize that I was going to begin a new life.

I left my native land in the year 1919. At that time there had been no automobiles in Hainan Island, and the buildings and streets in Haikow, the trade port of the Island, opened under the terms of one of the so-called "unequal treaties," all had been built in the old Chinese fashion—small, narrow, and ill-ventilated. But when I returned to the Island in 1926, the trade port was already westernized. Its streets were broadened and paved very smoothly, and its buildings built in accordance with the Western style. Formerly when one traveled from my village town to the trade port, one had to spend at least two days by walking, but now one can reach there by an automobile in two or three hours. The people in Hainan Island call the automobile "Ford car," "gas car," "wind car," or "motor car." They also nickname it "city tiger," for they think it is as dangerous as a tiger running on the streets. The word "gas" and "wind" here have been literally translated from the Chinese; while the names "Ford car" and "motor car" are pronounced the same as in English. So they have adopted the material trait as well as its name. But why is an automobile called a "Ford car"? I think few of my people can give an answer to this.

Now let me give a brief account of my contact with Western things after my arrival in the Malay Peninsula. But how did I get to this place? I boarded a steamship which belonged to a British company, from Haikow to Singapore, and then from Singapore I took a train to the Federated Malay States, where my uncle lives. Thus I came to know what a steamship and a train are. In Singapore I also saw automobiles and street-cars for the first time in my life. But I did not realize that they are chief means by which the West has been connected with the East.

Just a few days after my arrival, to my great surprise, my uncle sent me to a Chinese higher primary school to continue my education.⁴ In this school I had six hours of English each week. But I had to learn my a, b, c's, again, for what I had learned in my native land was entirely forgotten. Besides learning English, I also learned to play marbles with other boys. Since coming to America, I have seen boys playing marbles here too. This reminds me of my old school days spent on the opposite side of the earth.

After I had studied one year in that school, I went to Singapore and entered the Chinese High School there. It was here that I began to enlarge my contact with the West. In this institution English was emphasized more than Chinese. I had to make a new start to learn my a, b, c's, again for my English pronunciation was considered to have been wrong. Here I was required to study chemistry, physics, algebra, Western music, European history, and geography, etc.—all textbooks were in English. Although all those were general courses, yet I had a hard time searching for the meanings of the new words. So a great part of my time was spent in busying myself with a Chinese and English dictionary. Besides studying Western subjects, I also learned some Western games and sports, such as tennis, football (American soccer), basketball, volleyball, tug

of war, and some others. I was required to join the boy scouts under the command of an Englishman, whom I did not like on account of the way he treated us. I do not think I got much out of it.

While I was studying in the Chinese High School, I began to learn something about the Chinese Literary Revolution headed by Dr. Hu Shih, an advocate of the Vernacular Movement. I read some of his poems written in the new style, or the so-called free verse, and some of his essays on the application of the English punctuation to Chinese writings. At first I thought he himself invented all these things, but later on I learned that he was influenced by the West. However, I do not think Chinese literature can ever get rid of such influences. In fact, modern Chinese literature is entirely under the influence of Western literature. Even I myself have written verses and novelettes in Western forms.

In the year 1923, Tsing Hua College gave an entrance examination to the Chinese students in the British Settlements in the Malay Archipelago, among whom only one was to be selected. The examination took place in Singapore. I seized the opportunity and passed the examination. Hence I was going to begin my new life in another school.¹

In the summer of 1923, I left Singapore for Shanghai by boarding a steamship, and then from Shanghai I took a train to Peking. Shanghai is called the Paris or the New York of the East. So at last I had a chance to see this so-called "the most civilized place in China." I do not know

¹ Tsing Hua College is the institution founded in Peking in 1912, on the basis of the Boxer Indemnity returned by the United States. Under the old regulations all the students were selected through competitive examinations from the different provinces of China. Those who were educated in the College had the privilege after graduation to pursue further studies in America. This College is generally regarded as one of the most Westernized institutions and as a first class college in China. Since I was going to study there, the enlargement of my contact with the Western culture was within my expectation.

what Paris and New York really look like, but having stayed in Shanghai for a few days, I was rather afraid of the place. There were too many cars rushing to and fro on the streets, too much noise made by machines, too much smoke in the air, too many people with strange and unfriendly looks,—in short, everything was too much for my small boyish soul in such a bustling and dazzling world. I lived in a Westernized Chinese hotel. In my room everything was new and comfortable. But there was no sunshine coming in in the day time, and I had to use the electric light instead; and there was no wind blowing from the window, and I had to hire an "electric fan" for twenty cents an hour. If I had stayed there longer, I think I would have been bankrupt, and would have lost myself in such a "civilized place." When I arrived at America and saw San Francisco for the first time, I exclaimed, "This looks somewhat like Shanghai!"

Happily I left Shanghai for Peking. I entered Tsing Hua College, and began to read a new chapter of my life. As I went into the campus, which is smaller but more beautiful than that of Stanford University, I was confronted with an entirely new environment. I saw more new things there than I have seen in this University. The auditorium, the library, the science building, the gymnasium—all these were built in Western style, somewhat like those here, and all were new to me. Inside the auditorium there are thousands of comfortable seats, like those in the Stanford Assembly Hall, and motion pictures are usually shown there once every week. In the library things are not much different from those in the Stanford Library. Inside the science building one finds the departments and laboratories of chemistry, physics, and biology, and some other scientific equipments, as one finds here. Inside the gymnasium one also finds many things similar to those in the Stanford

Gymnasium, such as individual lockers, shower bath, swimming pool, springboards, wooden horses, Indian clubs, and many other pieces of athletic apparatus. All those things were imported from America. Most of the professors are returned students from the United States, and a few of them are Westerners. Living in such an environment I could not help being Westernized. If not entirely Westernized, I am at least no longer a pure product of Chinese culture. Now let me briefly note down what kind of Western cultural traits influenced me most and greatest when I was in Tsing Hua.

First of all let me say something about physical education. There I played tennis, ping-pong, basket-ball, football, baseball, volley ball; I had both Chinese and Western boxing, swimming, tack and field, boy scout, military drill, and some other things. In short, I had almost all sorts of sports and games there as the American boys have here. Although I am not an athlete or a sportsman, I can appreciate many kinds of sports and games. Among them I like tennis best, and I hate the Western boxing most. When literally translated, tennis is called "net ball" in Chinese. In playing tennis the technical term "game" has been adopted from the English. With regard to boxing I think the Western kind is rather inhuman as compared with Chinese boxing, and I wonder why people want to introduce such a thing into China. Besides Western boxing. I also hate military drill. In Tsing Hua College I was required to take a course in military science for at least one year. I had it under a West Point graduate and some others, and what I learned from them was how to kill people.

In connection with military drill I want to say something about warfare in China. It has been entirely modernized, or Westernized rather. Bombs, aircraft, machine guns, poison gas, and many other kinds of deadly weapons

have been introduced into China. I remember, once we students had a patriotic parade in Peking, and some of us were shot to death by the Bodyguards of the Executive in Chief with machine guns. Although I was not killed, my clothes were stained with the blood of my fellow students. A few years ago when the war lords were fighting around Peking, I heard with my own ears the explosion of bombs dropped from the aeroplanes near my college.

Even now there is a civil war going on in China between the north and the south. According to the newspapers it is being carried on in the most modern manner, and is the most destructive civil war China has ever experienced. The East is eager to learn from the West the scientific way of killing people, and the West is proud that they have taught and still are teaching with success the so-called backward heathen Asiatics to fight according to their civilized way of fighting. I am ashamed of the Orientals who often boast of their spiritual civilization, and I am also ashamed of the Occidentals who call themselves the civilized and superior races, while most of them, both Occidentals and Orientals, are still "social imbeciles," as the term was used by Professor C. M. Case, and under the yoke of the "trained blockheads," as H. G. Wells spoke of the militarists. In fact, I have seen civilized individuals, but I have not seen civilized nations yet. Perhaps I have digressed a little bit, and now let me return to my own course.

With regard to material traits I saw and enjoyed many things in Tsing Hua, which are similar to those I have seen and am enjoying in Stanford. For instance, tub baths, ice cream, milk, "drinking fountains," aerated water, electric light, steampipe, phonograph, radio, and some other kinds of modern conveniences. Whenever I wished to go to the city, for Tsing Hua College is situated a few miles away from Peking, I could go there by taking a bus. Whenever

I was sick, I went to see a Western doctor and took Western medicine. Moreover, the fountain pen I possessed was manufactured in America; the suit of foreign dress I used to put on was made in Western style; and the shoes I used to wear were just like what I am wearing in America. For amusement, I used to see moving pictures. The movie, I think, is one of the most powerful cultural influences, for good or for evil, that America has brought upon China. Probably few people have realized the fact that many of the Chinese young men and women are now at the mercy of the movie. From the moving pictures they are learning the Western way of making love, of committing suicide, of saying this and that. Their minds are thus infected by what they have seen in the moving pictures, and their behavior is conditioned, at least to a certain extent, by the suggestions they have got from them. Now Shanghai has become the Hollywood of China, where Chinese moving pictures are produced. I doubt that China hereafter can ever get rid of this sort of commercialized recreation.

So much for the material objects and recreation, which I have recognized to be the traits of the Western culture. However, my contact with the Western material traits is nothing when compared to my contact with the Western ideal and spiritual traits. In fact, it is not the wearing of a collar and a necktie but the study of Western subjects that has changed me into a "cultural hybrid." When I was in Tsing Hua College, I had Biology, Physics, Geometry, European History, Western Literature, Logic, Political Science, Economics, Citizenship, Hygiene, Psychology, Contemporary Civilization, etc.,—all in English. I wonder if any of my forefathers ever heard of such courses! All these things were poured into my little head, which was gradually moulded into a Western pattern. Thus I came to prefer Plato, Schopenhauer, Francis Bacon, Tolstoy,

Bertrand Russell, John Dewey, H. G. Wells, and some other Western philosophers, to Lao-tze, Confucius, Mencius, and other Chinese philosophers; I also came to appreciate the works of Homer, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Shelley, Byron, Wordsworth, Dickens, Turgenev, Chekov, Oscar Wilde, Whitman, and Thomas Hardy, more than those of Chinese writers. What is the significance of all this? The Western philosophers and writers have changed my view of life, my ideal of beauty, my judgment of human relationships, and my conception of our world. When I read Mazzini's "The Duties of Man," I tried to write an essay on "The Duties of Young Chinese." When I wrote a novel entitled "The Wind of Spring," I unconsciously followed the form of Goethe's "Sorrows of Werthers." In "The Song of Life," a collection of free verses which I composed, one finds something resembling Whitman's "Leaves of Grass." Modern Chinese literature is largely influenced by Western literature, not only in form, but also in substance. If my works can be called literature at all, they are but products of the age, when China is invaded by the culture of the West.

Furthermore, my conception of human relationships is no longer purely Chinese. The "Five Relationships of Man" expounded by Confucius, which have governed the Chinese social life for more than two thousand years, no longer wholly and rigidly occupy my mind. Take this as an illustration. When I was only a few years old, I was betrothed to a girl whom I never knew. This is a custom in the Chinese family system, and appears to be very natural to the old fashioned Chinese. But last year when I was leaving China for America, I wrote letters (for I did not go home) to my own home and to the other party asking for the withdrawing of the betrothal, and it was done according to my desire. I doubt if my poor mother can

ever excuse me for this, and I do not think we can ever understand each other. In fact, the older generation and the younger generation in China are now dangerously in conflict. The revolt against the patriarchal rule, the breaking of the old marriage custom, and the problems of divorce, are becoming more and more serious in the Chinese social order. But where did I get such rebellious ideas? From the West, of course.

In addition to my contact with the Western cultural traits in those different schools I have mentioned above, I also had some contact with other Western cultural traits during my travels in China. During the summer vacations I used to go out and visit some of the famous places in China. Canton, Shanghai, Wusih, Soochow, Hangchow, Nanking, Chefoo, Tientsin, Peking, Dairen, Mukden, Harbin, etc.,—all these important places I have visited. Every one of them has been Westernized to some extent at least. One can reach such places either by train or by steamship. In all these places one can find automobiles, busses, telegraphs, telephones, and some other modern means of communication. In addition to these, Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Dairen, and Harbin, each has also its own street-cars. With regard to industrialization, I have seen with my own eyes factories and mills in Shanghai, Tientsin, Wusih, Chefoo, and Harbin. In Chefoo, which is a free trade port on the coast of Shantung Province, and which the American sailors in the Far East often frequent during the summer time, I visited two silk mills, where I saw children and women laboring in a hot, steamy atmosphere, preparing the cocoons for the reelers over basins of nearly boiling water. My heart sank as I saw their miserable condition. I am told that such things happened in "civilized" England; now it is also happening in "backward" China. It is a result of the influence of the machine introduced from the

West. I wonder why the Chinese are so stupid that they do not know how to benefit by the evils which have occurred in the West. Man is often blind in regard to his own history. He seldom pays any attention to what has gone before him. I think this is why man's true progress still lies far ahead of him.

Another Western cultural trait to be mentioned here is Western dancing, which has recently become quite the fashion in most of the Westernized cities in China, and has become a medium of social intercourse for those who want to be modernized. I came into contact with this trait while I was in Shanghai, just a few days before setting sail for America. One evening one of my native friends, who was a university student in Shanghai, took me to a dancing hall in a Westernized Chinese hotel. Here I began to observe many strange things. At one end of the hall sat the orchestra, facing the smooth wooden floor with rows of seats on both sides. The dancing girls, who were hired by the hotel, were sitting in the front rows; and those males who came either to exercise their own legs or to see other people dance, were sitting in the rear rows. As music began the man who wanted to dance stepped out and selected his partner by giving her a bow. For one Chinese dollar he could buy three tickets for three rounds. He himself had to give the ticket to his partner after the dancing.

My friend knows how to dance but I do not. He explained to me what a "fox trot" and a "waltz" are. He also showed me his skill in these dances. While sitting down before a table and drinking soda water alone, I watched him taking a "pale-faced, silk-clad, swish-swash shadow" in his arms, moving to and fro in the dancing hall, and kicking their feet up and down on the wooden floor. Such a way of exercising one's limbs appeared to me rather queer. That evening my friend spent six dollars in

making eighteen rounds. I was rather sorry for him. But he laughed at me, because I, being the one who was going to study in the dancing-crazy America, did not know how to dance. If I return to China after completing my education here without knowing the art of dancing, I think I shall be laughed at by many other people besides that friend of mine! However, I often ask myself: Is dancing a good thing? Must I accept this foreign custom? Cannot one get along without it? Concerning its value I shall not venture to say anything here. I have lived in this country for more than ten months already, and I feel I have been getting on quite well without bowing my head before this custom. However, I am not a fortune teller who can forecast its fate in China. Most probably this Western cultural trait, together with many of those mentioned above, will remain there as a part of the Chinese new culture.

Let me conclude with the remark that my contact with the Western culture was a gradual process. It began with the material traits and later included the spiritual. It seems to me that the material traits, and sports and games, are easier to be diffused and adopted than the spiritual traits. However, it is the latter and not the former which have really and fundamentally changed me to what I am. Culturally speaking, I am no longer a pure Chinese, but a hybrid. Thus the East and the West have actually met and mixed in my very person. At first I took both the material and spiritual traits in a natural way without any special reaction on the part of my mind, but later on I began to meet them with a critical attitude, asking which is good and which is bad for both myself and my fellow men. I can appreciate both Eastern and Western cultures, and I can also see that there are some desirable and undesirable traits in both of them. I think the problem of our world

now is how to eliminate the undesirable and to combine and build up the desirable traits for the benefit of mankind as a whole. For instance, war as an undesirable trait must be abolished. In the field of art the combination of the Eastern and Western architectures has already shown some good and admirable results in China, and this should be encouraged. It seems to me that the West is more obstinate in resisting what the East has to offer than vice versa. I think China is going to have a very hopeful future, and that a new civilization will be achieved before long by the people of the Far East. However, on account of cultural diffusion, the world is becoming more and more alike; and, though one will not see many new things when he travels from one part of the earth to another, he will probably feel more at home wherever he goes, as I do in America.

GROUP INSURANCE IN 189 INDUSTRIAL FIRMS IN OHIO

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EMPLOYEE welfare activities of industrial firms are of interest to sociologists for a number of reasons. Analysis of such activities often reveals important relations between the wage-earning and the employing groups, two very significant groups in our present-day society. A study of such activities in a time perspective may also discover important facts regarding changing attitudes between these two groups. A further point of interest to sociologists is the contribution which industrial welfare functions make to the workers' well-being in terms of the larger community life. If industrial firms bear well their responsibility in preventive and remedial work for their employees' welfare, the larger community is spared many burdens of this sort which otherwise would fall upon it. It was upon these considerations and others that the study reviewed in this paper was begun.

The group of 189 firms included in the study represent about 100,000 employees¹ and practically all the major lines of industry in Ohio. These firms represent the number responding to a general questionnaire on welfare activities sent out to a larger group of firms by the Bureau of

¹ The 179 firms reporting number of employees had a total of 92,444 persons in their employ, and the 10 firms not reporting number of employees, if they should maintain the average number of the 179, would raise the total to 97,608 employees. According to data gathered from the Ohio Division of Labor Statistics there were 729,250 workers in manufacturing industries in Ohio in 1927, the year these data on employees were gathered. The study therefore represents a sample of about 13 per cent of employees in manufacturing industries. It should be remembered that our data came from firms that were cooperative and may show better welfare practices than the average firm.

Business Research of Ohio State University, with which the writer was cooperating in the study. The firms vary in size from less than 100 to 10,000 employees and are distributed through practically all sections of the State of Ohio.

Of the 189 cooperating firms, 62, or approximately 33 per cent, had group insurance in some form for their employees. The proportion having group insurance varied from 58 per cent in the food and food products group to 17 per cent in the rubber products group. Group insurance was more prevalent among the firms having a considerable number of employees than among small firms. This result differs somewhat from the findings of the Industrial Conference Board in a recent study of plants participating in industrial relations. The latter study found that the proportion of firms participating in group life insurance and other such activities was considerably greater for those firms of 250 employees and less than it was among the reporting firms as a whole.² The present study shows an almost unvarying increase in the proportion of firms participating in group insurance. The smaller firms in the study had group insurance, however, in more instances than they had other welfare functions except vacations. The percentage of employees which were women had little apparent influence on the number of firms carrying group insurance.

Three chief formulas for determining the amount of insurance to be carried per employee were found in the study: (1) Flat coverage, in which all the insured were insured for a uniform amount; (2) Service formula, which allows more insurance for those older in the service of the company, usually increasing at a stipulated amount per given

² See report in the National Industrial Conference Board Service Letter for January 5, 1929. Also referred to in *Domestic Commerce* for January 1, 1929, p. 7 (Bureau Foreign and Domestic Commerce, U.S. Department of Commerce).

time period; and (3) Earnings basis, by which the amount of insurance is determined by the earnings of the employee. Of the 37 firms reporting these data, 13 used the first formula described above, 17 the second, and 7 the third. No difference as to formula used was made between salaried and wage-earning employees except in 3 firms, one of which carried insurance for salaried people on an earnings basis and for wage earners on a flat coverage basis, both groups being in a contributory plan. Another firm had insurance on an earnings basis with the same minimum for wage earners and salaried employees, but with \$10,000 as the maximum for the latter while \$5,000 was the maximum for the former. The third firm had insurance on an earnings basis for both salaried employees and wage earners but the former was just twice that of the latter, minimums being respectively \$1,000 and \$500, yearly increases \$200 and \$100, and maximums \$10,000 and \$5,000.

The 36 firms supplying adequate information were almost equally divided between non-contributory and contributory plans, 17 firms having the former and 19 the latter type of plan.³ Of the 19 contributory firms, 17 supplied data for determining the relative proportion of the expense borne by firms and employees. In 11 of these the employees contributed less than half the cost, while in 6 they contributed more than half the cost. It is clear from these data that employers were carrying by far the greater part of the direct cost of insurance, paying the whole premium cost in 17 firms using non-contributory plans and more than half of the premium cost in 11 of the 17 contributory firms reporting payment.

By comparing the date of establishing insurance in contributory and non-contributory firms it is found that con-

³ In non-contributory plans the employer pays all the premium but in contributory plans employers and employees both contribute to cost.

tributory plans are becoming more popular, as will be seen from the following table:

COMPARATIVE DATES AT WHICH CONTRIBUTORY AND NON-CONTRIBUTORY PLANS OF GROUP INSURANCE WERE ESTABLISHED BY FIRMS*

<i>Period Established</i>	<i>Total No. of Firms</i>	<i>Non-Con- tributory</i>	<i>Con- tributory</i>
All Periods	27	12	15
1910 - 1914	1	1	0
1915 - 1919	7	5	2
1920 - 1924	9	5	4
1925 - Aug., 1928	10	1	9

The development of contributory plans to supplant the non-contributory type of insurance is looked upon by many as being more conducive to permanency of insurance, as employers are not usually so willing to cancel their insurance if they must do so in the face of employees' deposits to reserve. A larger advantage of the contributory type of insurance plan may be seen in the development of the principle of self-help among employees.⁴

The amount of insurance carried is of course important in any consideration of the value of group insurance as an employee welfare service. The average insurance provided by 46 firms supplying these data is shown below, the firms being classified as contributory or non-contributory and according to formula used for determining the amount of insurance per employee.

* Nine firms stating type of plan (contributory or non-contributory) did not give dates for establishing insurance, and a number of firms indicating dates of establishing insurance did not state whether plan was contributory or not.

⁴ One executive in a firm of 4,000 employees told the writer that as the employees whom his firm had insured during the war period grew older and death claims became heavier, his firm was finding costs so high that the contributory plan would be advisable.

AVERAGE AMOUNT OF GROUP INSURANCE PROVIDED PER EMPLOYEE

(46 Firms Reporting)

<i>Formula Basis</i>	<i>Contributory</i>		<i>Non-Contributory</i>	
	<i>No. Firms</i>	<i>Avg. Amt.</i>	<i>No. Firms</i>	<i>Avg. Amt.</i>
Flat	10	\$1,200	2	\$750
<i>Service or Earnings</i>				
Minimum	5	900	12	642
Maximum	5	5,200	12	889

It is evident from the above data that the employer pays very nearly the same amount for group insurance whether the plan is contributory or non-contributory. When the employer pays all the cost of insurance under the non-contributory plan, the amount of insurance is considerably less than when he pays only a part of the cost under the contributory plan. But the amount of insurance on the contributory basis is on the average so much greater that the employer, if he pays two-thirds the cost will be paying more than the average cost of the smaller amount carried under the non-contributory plan. So while the development of contributory plans in insurance probably means that employers are getting insurance for their men at a slightly lower figure for themselves (since employers' share is not much more than half the total cost), it also means that the employees are getting about 50 per cent more insurance.

Besides death benefits, many of the group insurance plans provide for sickness or accident benefits.⁵ In those firms which mentioned the amount of sickness benefits, the amount was usually \$10.00 per week for both wage earners and salaried employees and continued from 7 to 52 weeks,

⁵ One firm was found to be contemplating group insurance for the automobiles of its employees.

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varying with the firm, and in one firm varying from 7 to 21 weeks on a salary basis.

The amount of premium charged for group insurance was apportioned in the firms using contributory plans in the present study according to two rules: (1) The ages of all employees were averaged and this average was taken as a uniform cost for estimating the contributory share of each employee. (2) The premium was apportioned according to the actual age of the individual employee. It has been suggested that a further difference might well be made in apportioning premium cost on the basis of the employee's hazard at work. This would seem like a double penalization for doing hazardous work unless wages were increased proportionately. Of the 14 firms having contributory plans which reported these data 12 had a uniform rate for all employees based on an average age. Two firms had premiums apportioned according to individual ages of the several employees. Costs were the same for both salaried employees and wage earners in all these firms.

The percentage of firms having group insurance has already been discussed. As to reasons which employers gave for operating group insurance, 4 firms said that their reason was purely business, stating specifically that it was to reduce labor turnover. Ten firms gave as their only reason a humanitarian interest in their employees, while 12 firms said their motive was a sense of obligation to their workers. This last motive probably represents best the paternalistic attitude in group insurance and the number of firms acting out of this motive indicates that there is still a good degree of paternalism among employers. The other 28 firms which reported on this phase of the study ascribed their reason for operating group insurance to two or more of the above-mentioned motives, or in a few cases did not indicate any particular reason. One firm simply said the service was

for "family protection." The effort of employers to use group insurance as a device to reduce labor turnover is probably best seen in the time which an employee is required to work before he becomes eligible for insurance. This time varies from 2 to 24 months among the 15 firms reporting, as will be seen from the following:

<i>Length of Service Required for Eligibility to Insurance</i>	<i>Number of Firms</i>
2 months	2
3 months	3
6 months	7
9 months	1
12 months	1
24 months	1

Employers' replies as to relative emphasis placed on group insurance since 1919 and the relative emphasis to be placed on it in their 1929 and 1930 plans indicate that the trend is toward increasing importance of group insurance from the employers' standpoint. Of the 32 firms giving complete reports as to their relative emphasis on this service since 1919, fifteen stated there had been no change, 15 declared their emphasis had been increased, and 2 said they had reduced their emphasis on this function. This, of course, gives a margin of 13 firms in favor of increasing emphasis on group insurance. Of the 35 firms making reports as to their relative emphasis on group insurance in their 1929-1930 plans, 27 said they would make no change, 6 said they would increase their emphasis, and 2 firms said they would decrease their emphasis on group insurance (not the same 2 which reported decreased emphasis since 1919). Here also is a small margin in favor of increased emphasis on group insurance.

The rapid growth of group insurance as an employee service is suggested by the dates given by 52 firms as to the

initiating of this function. The number of firms establishing group insurance during the various time periods covered by these data was as follows:

<i>Period of Establishing Group Insurance</i>	<i>Number of Firms</i>
All Periods	52
1910 to 1914	2
1915 to 1919	13
1920 to 1924	15
1925 to Aug., 1928	22

The number of firms establishing group insurance during the period, 1925 to August, 1928 (date this part of the data was returned), was 22, or 42 per cent of the total number reporting as to the date of establishing the function. Five of the 52 firms had discontinued group insurance by August, 1928, but two of these five had begun it in the late war period (1918) or immediately following while labor enthusiasm was very high. The reasons for discontinuance are instructive: "Business conditions"; "Objectionable to union" (trade union, of course); "Not wanted by employees"; "Reorganization"; "Plant disbanded." Although some firms discontinued group insurance for various reasons, these data show an unquestioned increase in employers' interest in the function during the period covered by the study.⁶

In an effort to discover what employees think of group insurance, firms were asked to state what proportion of employees who *could* make use of the service *actually did* so. In 40 of the 48 firms reporting on this question between 75 per cent and 100 per cent of the employees who could use group insurance actually did carry the insurance.

⁶ Donald & Donald, writing in *Harvard Business Review* for January, 1929, p. 151, have the following to say on this point: "Group life insurance has been one of the substantial developments of the last ten years. Altogether there was approximately 6½ billion dollars of group life insurance in effect at the beginning of 1928."

It must be remembered, however, that group insurance was compulsory in some firms, that it was without cost to the employee in about half of the firms, and that in practically all cases it is without the usual medical examination required for ordinary insurance. It is also lower in premium cost than regular insurance. The per cent of employee cooperation is suggested in the following data:

<i>Per Cent of Employees Cooperating</i>	<i>Number of Firms</i>
All Groups	48
Less than 25 per cent	1
25 per cent to 49 per cent	1
50 per cent to 74 per cent	6
75 per cent to 100 per cent	40

There may be some question about the influence of the rather efficient workmen's compensation law of Ohio on group insurance. Would employees already protected by the State law wish to supplement that with group insurance? The present study seems to answer that question in the affirmative. In the first place, the workmen's compensation law provides only for a two-thirds compensation (on a wage basis) in case of complete disability,⁷ and group insurance benefits are necessary to maintain the family standard of living. In the second place, State compensation proceedings, like the "mills of God," often grind slowly, and group insurance benefits can tide the family over till compensation comes or work is resumed. The trade union insurance benefits are likely a bigger argument to the worker against group insurance by the firm than is compensation by the State, although there is no good reason why all three sources of income should not be proper and helpful if managed with due consideration to the free

⁷ Workmen's Compensation Law, *Bulletin of Ohio Industrial Relations Department*, Section 1465-78 to 1465-84.

agency of the employees. Group insurance has the additional value of encouraging greater caution in safety from accidents in those firms which have premium rates determined by the proportion of accidents occurring in the plant.

A brief summary of the chief points of the study may be of service to the reader. (1) Group insurance is considerably used by Ohio firms, about 33 per cent of the firms in this study (i.e., 62 of the 189 firms) having provided it. (2) There has been a rapid increase in the use of group insurance by firms in the last 15 years, 22 firms of the 52 which have established the service in that time having done so in the last 3 years of the study period. A majority of firms answering, replied that group insurance had increased in emphasis in their respective firms since 1919 and a majority of those answering also said that they intended to increase their emphasis on it in their future plans. (3) Group insurance was moving from the non-contributory to the contributory type. (4) In the contributory type individual employers of the study have probably not paid out quite as much for insurance as in the non-contributory type, but the amount of insurance provided per employee is over one-half greater in the former type. (5) There is some opposition from trade unionists to group insurance as practiced by firms, but 40 firms of the 48 reporting on the subject said that more than 75 per cent of all employees who could use the service actually did so. (6) Group insurance, as it is found in this study, well typifies a true welfare function in that employers voluntarily cooperate with employees in providing a service which is regarded by both groups as for the benefit of the workers. Of the 54 firms reporting on this phase of the subject only 4 stated they operated group insurance purely for business reasons.

PRESTIGE AS A FACTOR IN ATTITUDE CHANGES¹

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THE EXPERIMENT reported in this paper aimed to discover what changes in attitude would occur if a group of graduate students were subjected to a controlled situation in which the aim was to shift the attitudes of the group toward a more liberal point of view.

Harper's "Test of Social Beliefs and Attitudes"² was administered to two graduate classes in Teachers College, Columbia University, which will be designated as Groups A and B. Group A, composed of 29 individuals, was pursuing a course in elementary sociology; while Group B, composed of 31 individuals, was taking an advanced course in sociology in which emphasis was placed on methods of social control. This latter course tends to attract mature educators, religious and social workers. Its subject matter involves material of liberal and radical bias, and in addition, the students were required to read Walter Lippmann's book, *Public Opinion*.

After this first administration of Harper's Test, it was sought to discover what changes *toward liberalism* would take place if the test were given a second time, after an interval of four weeks,³ but with this difference—that all

¹ We are indebted to Professor Goodwin B. Watson, in whose class in Character Measurement this study was undertaken, for his many valuable suggestions and criticisms. Groups A and B were groups taking courses with Professor Daniel H. Kulp, II, who willingly gave us the opportunity to use them for our testing program, and to whom we are gratefully indebted for the notion of "prestige" as the sociological determiner, in this study, of the change in attitude.

² M. H. Harper, "Social Beliefs and Attitudes of American Educators" (*Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927*). The test is printed separately by the Bureau of Publications and entitled, "A Social Study."

³ In the interval, Group B had read and was tested upon Walter Lippmann's book, *Public Opinion* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1922).

the propositions were marked to give a maximum liberal score as decided by the scoring key of the test. In addition, a statement designed to influence their judgments according to the key was attached. This statement read as follows:

A very carefully selected group of graduate educators of maturity and experience, chosen from ten outstanding schools of education in this country, passed judgment on each proposition of this questionnaire. Their average agreement on the 71 propositions was 98 per cent. They marked the items as they are marked below. Check over these markings crossing out those with which you do not agree.⁴

TABLE I
(20 samples)
*Scores and Per Cent Change on Harper's Test
for
Each Individual*

GROUP A					
<i>Case</i>	<i>First Conservative Score</i>	<i>First Liberal Score</i>	<i>Per Cent Change toward Liberalism</i>	<i>Per Cent Change toward Conservatism</i>	<i>Net Per Cent Change toward Liberalism</i>
1	11	60	9	2	7
2	44	27	28	7	21
3	19	52	95	2	93
4	32	39	85	0	85
5	14	57	79	0	79
6	31	40	87	0	87
7	7	64	70	0	70
8	24	47	96	0	96
9	7	64	57	0	57
10	15	56	87	0	87

⁴ See Harper, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

GROUP B

1	14	57	50	2	48
2	21	50	67	4	63
3	7	64	86	2	84
4	16	55	88	0	88
5	24	47	92	2	90
6	28	43	54	7	47
7	20	51	100	14	86
8	12	59	92	0	92
9	23	48	69	2	67
10	36	35	86	0	86

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

Table I shows sample scores of the groups on the first test together with their percentage change toward liberalism and conservatism and the net change toward liberalism on the second test.

After tabulation, Groups A and B were combined and the mean number of conservative responses on the first and second trials together with the standard deviations were determined. This gave a difference between the means of the two trials of 10.46 with a S.D. of the difference of 0.51. Thus the difference between the means was more than twenty times its standard deviation which shows that it was not a chance difference but one due to the controlled factors introduced into the experiment.

The two groups were compared for their standing on the two trials. The difference in mean number of conservative responses on the first trial was but 1.03 times its S.D., or, in other words, no more than might have been expected by chance. But the difference on net per cent change to liberalism was 4.58 times its S.D., and, therefore, not due to chance but to the additional factors included in the case of Group B, namely, the study of Lippmann's *Public Opinion* and the subject matter of the course.

Summing up these results, we may say: (1) The groups were equal in their conservative (and liberal) responses to begin with. (2) Both groups showed highly significant net per cent changes to liberal attitudes (a mean change of 61.07 per cent and 69.06 per cent) which could only be due to the statement included on the second trial.⁵ (3) The group which studied Lippmann's *Public Opinion* (Group B) showed a greater change toward liberalism than the other which could not have been due to chance. (4) When provocative factors are introduced, liberals are somewhat more apt to change than conservatives.

The effect of the statement concerning the opinion of experts seems best explained by the notion of "prestige" and its power to cause people to become more suggestible. It is interesting to note that this statement really has a false connotation. In other words, the 98 per cent agreement among the forty-seven judges was as to the liberal marking of the items but not necessarily with the item itself. It is also interesting to note that despite the falsity of implication, the "statement" was nevertheless most potent in influencing the observed changes toward liberalism. Whether the "statement" is true or false, the theory of its effect and the practical implications arising therefrom are still valid and worthy of further research. This power of prestige in the change of attitudes tends to substantiate the theory of many sociologists⁶ that it is one of the most significant factors in influencing the critical faculty.⁷

An analysis of the type of items revealing the highest and lowest per cent of change proved interesting. The

⁵ The significance of this change has actually been determined by using the conservative responses, but the reasoning is applicable to either method.

⁶ See G. Le Bon, *The Crowd*; C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*.

⁷ See Harper, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-54, where it is shown that more conservatives yield uncritically to the suggestion of the proposition by marking it plus.

highest percentage of change toward liberalism in the upper decile was 100. This percentage was found for propositions 10 and 65 of the test. Number 10 reads, "Conditions have long showed that the United States should take possession of Mexico"; while Number 65 reads, "Citizens should desire our elementary and high schools to give unprejudiced and vigorous study and discussion to important social and political issues upon which community opinion is divided."

There was a 98 per cent net change on propositions 27, 66, and 64. Number 27 reads, "World conditions seem now to insure enduring peace among nations"; Number 64, "If it were true that one per cent of our people own more property than the other ninety-nine per cent, it would be of great importance in our high schools to seek to interest the students in a study of the causes operating to produce this unequal distribution of wealth"; and Number 66, "It would be undemocratic for the United States to surrender any of its sovereign powers to an international super-government in order to become a member of such an organization."

There was a 90 per cent net change on proposition 55, which reads, "In these days of lack of thoroughness, elementary teachers should give their attention more singly and directly to teaching the fundamentals—in reading, handwriting, arithmetic, etc."

In the lower decile there was a 45 per cent net change on propositions 26, 53, and 67. Number 26 reads, "The development of the highest welfare of the country will require government ownership of important minerals"; Number 53, "No school, college, or university should teach anything that is found to cause its students to doubt or question the Bible as containing the word of God"; and Number 67, "Taxes on very large inheritances should be high enough

to prevent any heirs receiving huge fortunes." There was a 41 per cent net change on proposition 6, which reads, "The government should provide opportunity for insurance at cost to all classes of people against accident, sickness, premature death, and old age." There was a 26 per cent change on proposition 2, which reads, "If our people were willing to try the experiment fairly the government ownership of railroads would be for the best interest of the country." There was a 24 per cent change on proposition 30, which reads, "Our educational forces should be directed as efficiently as possible to the development of socialism." Finally, there was but a 14 per cent change on proposition 48, which reads, "The development of the highest welfare of the country will require government ownership of the railroads."

Summing up, it may be said that the highest percentage of net change occurred in connection with propositions all of which pertain to attitudes on international questions. The lowest percentage of net change occurred in connection with propositions which pertain to attitudes on socialism or on socialistic policies and one in connection with religion. This may be explained by the fact that the American people are unfavorably conditioned toward socialism, while, on the other hand, there is a more indifferent attitude toward matters on internationalism.

The conclusions offered must necessarily be tentative, due to the small number of cases, and applicable only to the type of group studied in this situation. They are:

1. The major conclusion to be drawn from the results is that certain attitudes can be easily and suddenly changed by a manipulation of the prestige element.

2. Reading is an important element in change of attitude as evidenced by the greater difference shown on the second test by Group B.

3. There is a slight tendency for liberals to react positively to a greater degree than conservatives toward a manipulation of prestige.

4. Among subjects such as used in this study changes in international attitudes occur more readily than in attitudes involving vested interests.

FUNCTION OF RURAL IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

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It is strikingly true that most studies of immigrant groups have centered about the urban community. The problems of assimilation and the conflicts that result from the changes, and accommodations that must necessarily be made, have been studied in the city, while the rural community has been very largely neglected.

For a number of years the writer has been interested in gathering material relative to the process of assimilation as it takes place in rural communities of the Middle West, with particular reference to the Eastfriesian people of the United States. The original home of the people was in the lowlands of Northern Germany. About the middle of the nineteenth century many of them came to America and settled, almost exclusively, in rural communities. Because of language and other cultural differences they remained relatively segregated. Our interest centers around the question of the significance of these rural communities in the process of assimilation. It is only by studying the attitudes of the different generations, as expressed in overt behavior, and by studying the changes that have taken place in language, customs, and attitudes that the function of such a community may be noted.

Many such groups, varying in size from a few hundred to several thousand may be found.

They are often considered a problem in Americanization, inasmuch as the clannishness of the group retards the

process of assimilation. It is true that in many such groups Old-World customs predominate, a foreign language is spoken, and the moral standards and ideals that prevail are those of the former home in Europe.

It is generally assumed that the problem particularly involved is one of distribution. Break up the group, we are told, forbid the use of the foreign language, and thereby put a stop to the promulgation of un-American customs and hasten the Americanization of the people. The experience of Prussia in Poland in the past century should teach us how utterly impossible it is to achieve assimilation artificially.

It was a saying in Germany that the Prussian schoolmaster had won the battle of Sadowa, and it was Bismarck's policy to use the same schoolmaster in the Germanization of Posen. The German language was substituted for the Polish in the school, and German teachers, preferably without a knowledge of Polish, were introduced into the schools. Now speech is one of the signs by which a people recognizes itself, and fear of the effacement of the signs of self-consciousness is somewhat like the fear of death. And this effacement of speech implied also the effacement of religion, for in the mind of the peasant speech and religion, were identified. Ask a Pole his nationality and he will not improbably reply: "Catholic." He felt also, and the priest taught, that the good Lord did not understand German. At this point the peasant knew that the government was his enemy. He had heard it before from the priest and the nobility, but he did not believe it.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Prussian government at this point raised a devil which it has not been able to lay. This action, indeed, marked the beginning of what is now known as the Polish Peasant Republic of Posen. The direct consequences of this school policy were riots and school strikes. At Wreschen a number of women who entered a schoolhouse and rescued their children from a teacher were tried for violation of domicile and sentenced to two, three, and five years' imprisonment. In 1906 there followed a systematically organized school strike involving about 150,000 children. The children at the instigation of their parents, the priests, and the

press, refused to answer in German. It seems that the behavior of the school officials was on the whole patient. But the strike had the effect of developing in the Polish children a hatred of the Germans. Indeed, this was probably the main object of the organizers of the strike. It may be that the Poles had planned precisely this, and expected no further results.¹

The probability that the immigrant community may be serving the purpose of Americanization and other ends equally valuable may be entirely overlooked. Aside from the cultural contribution that such groups may make to the development of the community in which they live, it is possible that they have a further value that should not go unnoticed.

It would seem that one valuable end of the immigrant community serves is the prevention of a too rapid assimilation. These immigrants in the rural sections are being assimilated, but it is by a slow process. Even though the foreign language is still used, sometimes exclusively, in home and church, and though customs that to us seem strange continue, it is inevitable, as the people mingle with those of other nationalities in school and business, that slowly the old should be replaced by the new. True, the community is not strictly American; nor is it strictly foreign. Culturally such a community is a hybrid. The language and the customs may be largely of the old world, but the occupational technique is of the new. The later immigrant coming to the community realizes immediately that it differs markedly from the one he has left behind. The community introduces the new-comer into American life by easy stages. It not only helps him make the necessary adjustments which at best are always difficult, but it enables him to make them so that a minimum of conflict

¹ W. I. Thomas, "The Prussian-Polish Situation: An Experiment in Assimilation," *Pub. Amer. Soc. Soc.*, 8 (1913), 87.

results and thus it spares him such hardships as might otherwise lead to personal disorganization. It teaches him the American way of doing things, puts him in touch with some of the American institutions and ideals; it enables him to acquire some knowledge of the English language, and thus it makes it possible for him to accommodate himself successfully to the new life which is perhaps all we may reasonably ask of the foreign born.

Children born of foreign parentage on American soil also benefit by their membership in such a group. It is a well-known fact that the children of immigrants are more prone to crime, especially in the urban situation, than the immigrants themselves. This is undoubtedly due to the breakdown of the means of control in the immigrant home and the abandonment of the old world standards and ideals on the part of the children before the American culture with its standards and ideals has been fully and successfully acquired. The rural immigrant community minimizes this danger. The home continues as a powerful and successful means of control; the replacing of the old customs by the new in the family life is so gradual that the break between parents and children is avoided; the second generation being partly assimilated has ample time to make whatever further adjustments are necessary.

In the third generation the process of assimilation is generally completed. The foreign language has been replaced by English. Old customs have disappeared. Memories of the native land of the grand parents being absent there is no interest in that land. American institutions are used, ideals and standards of conduct are those of America, and the problem of Americanization has solved itself. In the meantime the group has probably suffered much, suffered—not because the changes and adjustments

were too difficult, but because they have often been misunderstood and mistrusted. They have suffered too, at the hands of zealous but ignorant patriotic groups who failed to understand their motives and customs and refused to see anything but a menace in the existence of such a group.

In such a situation assimilation takes place slowly, but it is no less certain. Left to itself it is a natural process.

ORIENTALS IN THE SEATTLE SCHOOLS

JOHN E. CORBALLY

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ONE OF THE institutions in which race contact is evident is the public school. According to the compulsory attendance law for the state of Washington, children between the ages of 8 and 16 are required to be in attendance during the full time the schools are in session regardless of race, color, or creed, unless they are hindered by physical or mental disability, or temporary sickness. This means that the Oriental child must attend school—public or private—if he comes within the age range of compulsory attendance.

The problem of Orientals in the public schools is a relatively new one. As late as the school year 1919-20 there were only 147 Chinese boys and 44 girls, or a total of 191 enrolled in Seattle schools—elementary, high, and special. In that same year there were 546 Japanese boys and 346 girls, or a total of 892 in the schools. The consul-general of Japan in San Francisco reported that on October 31, 1926, there were 2,532 American-born Japanese of school age in Washington and Montana, while 3,319 minors were below school age. The largest percentage of these children were in Washington, and of these the majority were in Seattle, as shown by a report from the city superintendent's office which stated that there were 1,889 Japanese children in the Seattle schools that year.

The Chinese in Washington have decreased from 1900 to 1920, but the number in Seattle has increased, due to a tendency to urbanize. The population, however, is highly

segregated, and the greatest concentration is in the Bailey Gatzert elementary school district. The Japanese, on the other hand, have maintained about the same relative numbers in Seattle during the census report periods 1900, 1910, and 1920. Although there is a point of high concentration in the Broadway and Franklin High School districts, especially along the periphery of the old business district south of James Street, the Japanese had invaded eight of the nine high school districts in 1920, and at the present time they are found in every one.¹

TABLE I

CHINESE AND JAPANESE IN THE UNITED STATES, IN WASHINGTON AND SEATTLE			
	1900	1910	1920
United States:			
Chinese.....	84,863	71,531	61,639
Japanese.....	24,326	72,157	111,010
Washington: Total Pop. of State.....	518,103	1,141,990	1,356,621
Chinese.....	3,629	2,709	2,363
Japanese.....	5,617	12,929	17,387
Seattle:			
Chinese.....	438	924	1,352
Japanese.....	2,990	6,127	7,874

Certain social problems arise from such a situation. An article by Stephen P. Cabot contained this interesting statement:

"No distinction is made in this (Odenwald) school of race, creed, or color. Jews and Gentiles work together in perfect content. I noticed a negro boy playing with white boys. They seemed quite unconscious of anything unusual about this."²

One might infer from the article that race consciousness is a noticeable trait among American people. To determine whether or not such an attitude was apparent among

¹ The number of Chinese and Japanese in Washington from 1900 to 1920 is shown in Table I.

² Stephen P. Cabot, "The Education in Germany Today," *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1928, p. 695.

children of school age, a study was made in the three schools in Seattle in which are enrolled the greatest number of Orientals: Bailey Gatzert, Pacific, and Central. The children were observed on the playfield and in the class rooms, and the teachers and principals were interviewed. The method is not one which lends itself to statistical treatment, but it is in line with certain steps of the general method of social research. It is felt that such a study may be justified from the standpoint of a preliminary survey for further study of race contacts.

The problem of assimilation is an interesting one in the schools listed above on account of the diversity of the school population in those buildings. The Bailey Gatzert school had an enrollment of 830 pupils during the school year 1927-28. Of this total, 741 were Japanese, 63 Chinese, 2 Filipino, 5 negro, and 19 white. The Orientals make up 97 per cent of the school population. Here is a situation in which the white child is the exception, the one who must be assimilated. How deal with such a situation? Parents of white children living in the district are given the privilege of transferring their children to some other school if they so desire. According to the principal of the building, Miss Mahon, she had received only one such request during the first half of the 1927-28 school year. Upon further inquiry it was found that practically all of the white children enrolled in the building were of Southeastern European extraction, and that the parents of many of these children were themselves very recent immigrants. The attitude shown by the new immigrant toward the Oriental is probably indicative of the attitude of Europeans in general toward a different race.

The twenty-four teachers in the Bailey Gatzert school are selected with care. The new teacher is told explicitly just what the situation is, and is questioned as to attitude

toward race and color. If the prospective teacher indicates prejudice or bias, it is suggested that a transfer to some other building be sought. In this way the staff which has been built up is cognizant of the problem, and it has been successful in working with the group of pupils. There is not a large teacher turnover, and the principal cause for leaving is marriage.

During the noon hour Orientals assist in the school cafeteria. Several girls are employed in the kitchen to assist in serving, while others stack and wash dishes. One of the older boys acts as cashier, another checks the cost of food on the trays, while still others act as monitors to see that lines are kept while getting lunch and paying for it. These children have proven to be very efficient, and practically no trouble has been encountered as far as shortage of accounts is concerned.

The few white children in this building which includes grades one to six, play with the Orientals rather than by themselves. Quite frequently the games are of Japanese origin. It appears that there is little feeling of race consciousness among the pupils in the elementary schools. Observations at Pacific and Central substantiated the findings at Bailey Gatzert.

At the Pacific school there was a rather decided tendency for mixture among the play groups composed of Orientals and whites but the Negro children played more by themselves, and kept apart from children of other races. In girls' games in which pairs were selected, it was not uncommon to see whites and Orientals paired together. This was true for all age groups. The Oriental boys, also, entered into the play of the whites. At this school play groups have been instrumental in bringing about assimilation of the various school groups.

At the Central School Oriental boys participate in school activities, and one boy played on the team representing that school in the Public School Playground Ball League. In the class room and on the playfield very little race consciousness is manifest, according to Principal Widmer.

A second problem is presented when one considers the program of studies in the schools which enroll large numbers of Orientals. Mears has singled it out when he said:

The problem of the school is to help show these people what they are best fitted for—what they should train for—or what types of work would bring them into the least competition with others. They drift from calling to calling, location to location, with little sense of how their particular talents or handicaps can be utilized to best advantage. They spend time and money in higher education and in short technical and professional courses, but without any adequate knowledge of the likelihood of future positions. It is America's loss as well as their own, that they do not know how and where to capitalize their presence here.³

The school, in other words, requires these children to take the common course of study in the elementary school, and in the high school they are guided in the selection of their studies to a great extent by what their white school-mates select. They should be guided into such studies that fit in with their particular traits and abilities. This implies the setting up of a guidance program that will give reliable information, derived from aptitude tests, interest tests, or organized courses in occupational guidance. Then, rather than educating these children to the social caste of "white collar jobs" merely for the prestige that such a job might give, the child will be educated along the lines which will enable him to take his place as a productive member of society.

³ E. G. Mears, *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast*, p. 201.

In conclusion, certain tendencies may be pointed out as a result of the observations made in the various class rooms and on the playgrounds, as well as the interviews with teachers and administrators.

1. There seems to be but slight evidence that a feeling of race consciousness exists between children of different racial groups on the elementary school level.

2. Children of the upper elementary grades evidence considerable interest in children of other races, as shown on the playground. Questions such as "How do you say this in your language?" and "What does this mean?" are common.

3. Children of the lower elementary grades are as likely to play games of foreign origin as they are to play typical American games. On the playfield heterogeneous play groups are common.

4. Where Orientals and Negroes are enrolled in schools with white children, there is a greater tendency for the Negro children to play by themselves than there is for the Orientals. The latter mix freely with white children in play groups.

5. According to principals and teachers there seems to be no evidence that race consciousness interferes with school work. Rather, interest in children of other races seems to stimulate class work in English.

6. Teachers who have worked with Oriental children (as, for example, those at Bailey Gatzert) say that there is no marked inferiority among such children. Rather, the principal problem is to overcome the language difficulty, if there is one, and then the work is on a par with the average unselected groups of white children.

7. Other problems of social significance suggested by the investigation are:

- a. How does the number of cases of delinquency, or cases coming before the juvenile court in which Oriental children are involved compare with those in which white children are involved?
- b. How does the number of school failures among the Orientals compare with those among the white children?
- c. What per cent of Oriental children of school age finish elementary school? What per cent enter high school? College?
- d. To what extent do Orientals participate in allied school activities?
- e. To what extent is race a barrier to membership in social and honor groups in high school and college?

MEXICAN INFLUENCE IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA*

HAZEL D. SANTIAGO

Los Angeles

THE IDEA has sometimes been expressed that a new culture is being developed in Southern California. Various writers are of this opinion. Earnest Elmo Calkins, in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, says that on entering Southern California "you find yourself in a foreign country with strange and amusing folkways, more like the world Alice discovered behind the looking-glass than a part of this somewhat matter-of-fact and unimaginative United States. The traits which surprise the visitor must be acquired traits, for the inhabitants are after all Americans at heart like the rest of us, coming mostly from plain and unadventurous states as Iowa and Illinois."¹ What is it in our environment that has such a great influence on not only the native-born but on those coming from other states as well? The writer just quoted attributes it, among other things, to our play attitude and to the fantastic movie atmosphere of Hollywood. He finds the courtesy and hospitality of the people like that of the inhabitants of Southern Italy and, because the climates are somewhat alike, thinks this may be responsible for our having acquired similar characteristics. There is, however, one important factor which Mr. Calkins has evidently overlooked and which may be one reason why he was reminded of Southern Italy;

* EDITORIAL NOTE: This article is quite apropos at this time in view of the recent *Fiesta de Los Angeles* commemorating the 150th anniversary of the founding of the city.

¹ Earnest Elmo Calkins, "The California Legend," *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1930.

our Latin population in this case being Spanish and Mexican.

California belonged to Spain until the independence of Mexico in 1821, after which it became a part of that country. It has now been American property for over eighty years, but due to its early history and its Latin-American population, it has never completely lost its Spanish atmosphere. This is one reason why California, particularly the southern section, is so different from the other states. Strictly speaking, California is more Mexican than Spanish. Some of the early inhabitants came directly from Spain, but many came from Mexico. In addition to the peculiar traits which any people acquire after living for a given period in a new locality, the Spanish who lived in Mexico were changed by their contacts with the Indians. In the beginning the Spanish tried to blot out the Indian culture, but they were not successful. At present there is a tendency to revive it. Much of Mexico's art is pure Indian in character. From the first there was much intermarriage, until now over half of Mexico's population is "mestizo" (Indian and white mixed). The early inhabitants of California who had come up from Mexico were in some cases "criollos," that is born in New Spain (Mexico) of Spanish parents.

Many Mexican people are living in Southern California at the present time. The latest statistics available are those of the 1920 United States Census, which gives 88,771 in the State of California. This number has greatly increased during the last ten years. The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce in 1929 stated that there were 35,921 Mexican school children in the Los Angeles city schools. From this they estimated that there were approximately 189,850 Mexicans in the city of Los Angeles alone. The 1930 United States Census figures on Mexicans have not

been released, but even when they are published they will not disclose the whole story as we are concerned with it. The data will not tell us of those born in the United States, of those part Mexican and part American, nor of those descended from early California families.

During a very recent session of Congress a bill was passed in the House, but did not reach the Senate, for the restriction of Mexican immigration. The arguments for or against such a bill are not to be a part of this paper, but attention is called to a remark made by one of the Congressmen (not from California) that California was in danger of becoming "Mexicanized." Flooding the country with a low class of immigrants of any race for the purpose of supplying cheap labor is a danger because it lowers living standards and creates unemployment. But why call that Mexicanization? To do so is to misuse the word and misrepresent a fine people. The Mexicanization that is actually taking place is caused by the ever increasing interest of the Americans for the Mexican culture.

In the city of Los Angeles is a Mexican street, "la calle Olvera," now known as "El Paseo de Los Angeles." This remnant of early California has been reconstructed with its historical old Avila adobe house where General Fremont made his headquarters. It has unique cafés and colorful little booths where Mexican sweets, pottery, and other odd wares are sold. It has been referred to as a "bit of old Mexico" in the heart of Los Angeles, but it serves as more than a mere novelty; it is a part of a movement to preserve the beauty of the olden days of California and a step toward the improvement of the district surrounding the Plaza. This street has been criticized by some Mexicans because it is not a replica of any street in Mexico. Neither is it exactly as it was when Fremont arrived. Nevertheless this historical spot, which had deteriorated to a

shameful condition, has now been beautified and become a great attraction to tourists. At least it shows them that our traditions are Spanish-Mexican.

It is interesting to look over a Los Angeles newspaper and count the number of American cafés and restaurants featuring Spanish and Mexican "fiestas," special dinners and entertainments. This includes the best hotels, cafés, and cabarets. Besides these there are dozens of small Mexican restaurants serving tamales, enchiladas, and complete Mexican dinners. They are not exclusively patronized by Mexicans but by large numbers of Americans who have become "addicted" to Mexican cooking.

Los Angeles now has five radio programs daily in Spanish² and money is being solicited for a new radio station which is to be entirely Mexican. This is bound to affect the American population and increase the already mounting interest in the Spanish language. The California International Theatre, which shows all Spanish talking pictures, is already very popular among the numerous students of the language as well as the Mexican and other Spanish speaking residents. There are a number of other Mexican movie and vaudeville houses showing films in Spanish. Then there are the talkies in English which have a Spanish locale and are sprinkled throughout with phrases in Spanish. A number of Mexicans are movie stars in American pictures. Among these are Ramon Novarro, Dolores del Rio, Lupe Velez, Gilbert Roland, and Raquel Torres.

We who have lived in California a long time have come to take our stucco houses for granted, but the newly arrived or the tourist is quick to observe their charming picturesqueness. Earnest Elmo Calkins has the following to

² Schedule of Mexican Radio programs: KTM, 6-7 A.M.; KMPC, 7-9 A.M.; KGFJ, 11:30-12 noon; KMPC, 2-3 P.M.; KELW, 7-8 P.M.

say about Southern California's architecture: "The Andalusian motive, with its long wings surrounding a patio, is historically justified by the fact that this country was settled by the Spanish and that its climate is reminiscent of Lusitanian summers. It is an architecture peculiarly fitted to warm countries, and the small amount of heat needed makes it unnecessary to pile houses on top of one another."³ Whole new subdivisions have been modeled along the Spanish idea, with Spanish street-names, Spanish style exteriors and interiors for the houses, and of course Spanish style furnishings. Interesting examples are such real estate ventures as "Streets of Old Monterey" and "Casas de Vista Gloriosa," located in Westwood near the new University, "New Granada" in Viewpark at West Vernon Avenue and Crenshaw Boulevard, and "Rancho Malibu La Costa," situated on the shore about eight miles north of Santa Monica Beach.

It is quite apparent that commerce has decided that a Spanish atmosphere has an actual value in dollars and cents. Run through the pages of almost any popular magazine and you will find advertisements of the All-Year Club, the Santa Fe and Southern Pacific Railroads, and other groups to lure the eastern tourists to California. Almost invariably there will be something Spanish mentioned in the advertisement. It may be a large picture of a dancing señorita or a tiny picture of one of the missions, but it is there because it represents one of the most important attractions of the state. Further proof of this is found in the Spanish motive which is used in advertisements of candied fruits, orange juice, candies, clothing, furniture, and many other California products.

³ Earnest Elmo Calkins, "The California Legend," *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1930.

Santa Barbara is one of the most beautiful cities in California. It was built by Americans, yet everywhere the Spanish influence is seen in the architecture, the names of the streets, the restaurants, the articles sold in the stores, the schools, and of course the Mission. On visiting this city one is immediately impressed by its tranquil atmosphere. It makes one relax and feel at peace with the world; which is probably its purpose, for much of it was constructed by the wealthy who have homes and ranches there where they may escape the hurry and worry of modern American life. Each year a big celebration takes place, the fiesta of old Spanish days. For several days all the inhabitants dress in Spanish costumes and there is a big historical pageant and parade. This idea has been taken up in other cities until now Monterey similarly commemorates the anniversary of the birth of Fray Junipero Serra. Starting this year, Los Angeles plans to have a yearly fiesta in honor of the founding of the city. Uplands, Imperial, and other small places also celebrate with historical Spanish pageants. Then of course there are the Mission Play at San Gabriel and the Ramona Pageant at San Joaquin and Hemet. All of which proves that the Spanish-Mexican influence in California is not a dead past but a part of our living present.

Interest in the Mexican population was shown by the large attendance (over six hundred and fifty persons) at the Conference held by "The Friends of the Mexicans" at Pomona College at Claremont on November fifteenth of last year (1930). The education of Mexican children who do not speak English, the establishment of special schools for those who work in agriculture, and the rural schools of Mexico were among the topics discussed. This conference is held each year and is becoming more and more popular.

The Mexicans who live in California are said to be different from those in Mexico. The Americans in California are said to be different from those in other states. Then may we conclude that the people of California are distinctive in that they seem to be developing a new culture? Americans and Mexicans are learning from each other. Sometimes the results may not be all that is to be desired, but for the most part we are choosing and keeping the useful and beautiful from the two cultures. Although California is American, it will never lose its strong Spanish-Mexican traditions because of its early history and its present Mexican associations.

THE FIFTH WISH

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WHILE THE four "wishes" as developed by W. I. Thomas may be ultimately supplanted, they are exerting a wide influence in theories of personality. They are largely individualistic; they do not seem to account for all the basic urges to human action. Since 1924, when the writer first advanced the idea that there might be a fifth wish or basic urge, he has been asked on occasion to develop the suggestion.¹ If the contention has any merit, it may not be amiss to develop it even at this belated date.

That there is a basic urge to help, to aid, to cooperate, was first suggested to the writer, when reading Prince Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*. Kropotkin cites many cases among animals and primitive peoples which indicate the great age of the urge to aid.² Its origins may be found in the "automatic cooperation" that exists among animals. It is this automatic cooperation which W. C. Allee in his recent work on *Animal Aggregation*³ asserts "ranks as one of the fundamental qualities of animal protoplasm, and protoplasm in general." Many types of animals "are largely group-centered rather than self-centered." There are "innate tendencies toward cooperation."

The basic urge to work with and for other organisms seems to be deep seated along with urges to secure self gain through security, adventure, response, and recognition. This urge, apparently a survival trait, has a biological his-

¹ *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* (New York: Century, 1924), p. 19.

² *Mutual Aid* (New York: Knopf, 1922).

³ Ch. XX, "The Principle of Cooperation" (University of Chicago Press, 1931).

tory, emerges early in human life, and becomes organized with reference to various experiences. Higher animals that work for others survive as well as those that are always grabbing for themselves.

Among human beings a mental development obscures and overemphasizes working for others as a means of advancing one's self. While a great deal of human behavior implies self gain and while some sacrificial behavior doubtless centers around self gain, yet there are numerous acts that seem to arise directly out of the urge to aid and to help.⁴

Striking evidences of the urge to aid are numerous. A child is playing on the railroad tracks as a train suddenly comes along and a newsboy by the name of Thomas A. Edison quick as a flash dashes forward and drags the surprised child to safety and continues to call out his wares as though nothing had happened. There was no evidence of the operation of the wishes for security, for adventure, for response, or for recognition. The fact that young Edison was later rewarded by the station master whose child had been saved does not alter the case in behalf of the urge to rescue.⁵

A parent lays down his life with the gladsome remark: "Now I can die in peace for I have reared my children and taught them to take care of themselves. I need no reward from them or from anyone, for I have the satisfaction of knowing that they are now independent and can make their own way." There is no sign here of the wish for personal security, for new experience, for response, or for recognition. Children have been brought to the point of being able to fight their own life battles, and that service is enough.

⁴ The reader should consider the suggestions of Ellsworth Faris that the wish for security be rejected and that the wish to participate be introduced.

⁵ George S. Bryan, *Edison, the Man and his Work* (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., 1926), Ch. III.

When Charles H. Cooley says that "one is never more human, and as a rule never happier, than when he is sacrificing his narrow and private interest to the higher call of the congenial group,"⁶ he indicates that the urge to sacrifice is very deep seated, as basic at least as self-centered tendencies.⁷ If, as J. Mark Baldwin asserted, as early as 1897, that "the 'ego' and the 'alter' are thus born together," and that "both are crude and unreflective, largely organic," then the urge to aid is basic to human nature.⁸

The urge to aid is much bigger than the "gregarious instinct."⁹ Its implication is different. The "gregarious instinct" implies that one out of a dozen or forty inherited tendencies is socially centered and that the individual is one-twelfth or one-fortieth social. The urge to aid implies a general social tendency of the whole personality. "In truth the social tendencies of human nature are general and multiform, not specific and exceptional. We are social through and through."¹⁰

If, as Charles Lamb said, the greatest joy comes from doing good to others by stealth and of letting it become known by stealth, the explanation may lie in a deep-seated urge to aid. How often does a person who has performed some friendly deed say that he could not have done otherwise, meaning that such an act was basic in his nature. To have done less would have been unnatural.

⁶ *Social Organization* (New York: Scribner's, 1909), p. 38.

⁷ My colleague, Dr. M. H. Neumeyer, states that since he has been teaching "Fundamentals of Sociology" to advanced students he has presented the concept of the wish to aid, with results as follows: "The concept always produces a lively discussion. Some persons maintain that all wishes are self-centered. Even granting that there is a "wish-to-aid," yet it is rooted in self-satisfaction. Other persons take the opposite view. But after discussing cases which some do not regard as valid, the class usually expresses the judgment that people are not wholly self-centered and that the four wishes of Thomas are not complete."

⁸ *Social and Ethical Interpretations* (New York: Macmillan, 1897), p. 15.

⁹ See William McDougall, *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (Boston: Luce, 1915).

¹⁰ Charles H. Cooley, *Life and the Student* (New York: Knopf, 1927), p. 205.

Book Notes

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC VIEWS OF MR. JUSTICE BRANDEIS. Collected by ALFRED LEIF. The Vanguard Press, New York, 1930, pp. xxi+419.

Constructive social thought in the making—this is a most important reason for reading this volume of choice selections gathered from the Supreme Court opinions written by Mr. Justice Brandeis. A striking feature of the socio-legalistic thought of the Justice is "that law must be forced to adapt itself to new conditions of society." The liberal and progressive nature of the trend of his thinking is thoroughly refreshing in a decade marked with such an abundance of traditional chauvinistic cogitation. To read these opinions is almost in the nature of a rare privilege. One could but wish that these views might have been written into the majority decisions. For a finely balanced and discriminative bit of reasoning, one should read the opinion of Justice Brandeis as written under Mr. Leif's caption, "Curbing Efforts to Unionize." There he has justly stated: "Unionizing a shop does not mean inducing the employees to become members of the union. It means inducing the employer to enter into a collective agreement with the union governing the relations of the employer to the employees. Unionizing implies, therefore, at least formal consent of the employer. . . . The plaintiff sought to secure the closed non-union shop through individual agreements with employees. The defendants sought to secure the closed union shop through a collective agreement with the union."

It is likewise interesting to note a basic socialized attitude in the following: "All rights are derived from the purposes of the society in which they exist; above all rights rises duty to the community."

The rare sensibility of the jurist is vividly marked in those opinions collected under the title, "Guarantees of Freedom." How significant is the following: "Fear of serious injury cannot alone justify suppression of free speech and assembly. Men feared witches and burnt women. It is the function of speech to free men from the bondage of irrational fears. . . the path of safety lies in the opportunity to discuss freely supposed grievances and proposed remedies." These are the watchwords of a liberty that is truly worth guarding.

The volume should be prized for its future as well as its present value, indicating as it does, some part of the evolution of social struggle against organized selfishness. Significant, too, are the implied social situations in our national life which have been responsible for the genesis of the opinions. A book to grow enthusiastic about!

M. J. V.

A SYSTEMATIC SOURCE BOOK IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY.

By PITIRIM A. SOROKIN, CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN, and CHARLES J. GOLPIN. The University of Minnesota Press, 1930, Vol. I, pp. 645.

The first of three volumes of this comprehensive source book has come to the reviewer's attention. This is undoubtedly the most outstanding work in the field of rural sociology that has yet been produced. The three volumes, when completed, are designed to give the English-speaking reader an encyclopedic work which brings together translations of the most important writings on rural life in all languages, from the earliest times to the present day. The material in the first volume pertains to the historic development of rural sociology, showing the forms and relationships of rural communities. The second volume is to deal with rural social organization in its institutional, functional, and cultural aspects. The final volume will deal with the physical, mental, and social traits of rural dwellers.

The first volume consists of two divisions. Part One contains sources pertaining to the history of rural sociological theory from ancient times to recent years. The differences between rural and urban worlds are also pointed out. Part Two deals with rural social organization in its ecological and morphological aspects. The rural population is differentiated into cumulative communities and functional associations. The social stratification, mobility, and types of aggregates of rural population are given special consideration.

The primary purpose of the volume, as the title indicates, is to provide a source book which will contain selected readings from all of the important historical works on the subject. Yet the lengthy introductions and the classification of the material makes it a systematic treatise as well as a source book, or possibly better, a systematic source book. It is not easy reading. It is weighted heavily with factual material and extensive references and footnotes. No

attempt is made to popularize it. In fact, the introductions and conclusions are verbose and many of the selections are quite long.

There are two major values of the work. First and foremost, it is an exhaustive survey of the knowledge of rural life. The compiling and translating required an enormous amount of work. But there is another value which grows out of the first. Books on rural sociology for the most part are very provincial and localized. The material is drawn from too limited a region. This work is universal in character, and it contains historical as well as present day material. It will give rural sociologists a new perspective. They will find this a valuable source of information. M. H. N.

CHILD CARE AND TRAINING. By M. L. FAEGRE and J. E. ANDERSON. University of Minnesota Press, 1930, pp. viii+275.

This book is intended for parents and is written accordingly. It is informative and covers a considerable variety of subjects. Among the chapter heads are the following: Physical Growth and Development, Mental Growth, Emotional Habits, Constructive Discipline, Imagination, Truth and Falsehood, and others of a more casual nature. Each chapter is filled with practical suggestions and should prove very helpful to those parents who are looking for advice. At the close of each chapter we find a list of interesting questions and also a brief set of references. Twenty illustrations further enliven the book. There is also a considerable bibliography dealing with the Development and Training of Children. G. B. M.

PROPHETS OF THE NEW INDIA. By ROMAIN ROLLAND. Albert and Charles Boni, New York, 1930, pp. xxxiv+683. (Translated by E. F. Malcolm Smith.)

Romain Rolland has gained for himself a unique and distinctive position in the world of letters. His talents have lately been directed to a study of the religious thought now dominating modern India, with the result, that the West is now presented with a most admirably conceived treatise, enlightening, stimulating, and absorbingly interesting. Furthermore, no one can claim to be acquainted with the spirit of India of today who has neglected to study the trend of Indian thought as revealed by Mr. Rolland. The book, translated from the French by E. F. Malcolm Smith, is devoted for the major part to the discussion of the lives, thoughts, and teachings of the two most noted Indian prophets of the nineteenth century, Sri Rama-

krischna and his beloved disciple, Swami Vivekananda. Sri Ramakrishna has been hailed as an Indian Christ, and, indeed, his life history shows a marked resemblance with that of the Christ. Like the latter, the Indian saint's birth seems to have been the subject of a divine annunciation, and his life work runs somewhat parallel. Both worked unceasingly to render service to their fellows. After embracing all the religions of the world, Sri Ramakrishna announces that these religions are but so many pathways leading to the one goal. Therefore, it is not necessary, nor indeed advisable, to convert; follow the chosen pathway to the supreme goal, but do not attempt to force others to follow your particular choice. Here lies the basis for religious harmony. In his social thought, all men are brothers through their kinship with the Supreme Being; service to man ranks as the first duty; he declares that the lust for money and material riches is a barrier to unity and bliss. His love is of cosmopolitan quality.

His message to the world was entrusted by him to Swami Vivekananda, who carried it to England and America. During the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893, while attending the Parliament of Religions, the Swami made a marked impression which has not been erased. As one reads the book, one wonders what message we can still send to India. Romain Rolland believes that India has a far more vital message to send to us—in fact, he has written the book with the hope of wetting the lips of fever-stricken Europe with the blood of immortality. For those who are interested in the friendship of the world and in its unity, the message will prove to be of deep meaning; the cultural sociologist can ill afford to miss reading this superb presentation of Indian thought.

M. J. V.

FILIPINO IMMIGRATION. By BRUNO LASKER. Published for the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, by the University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. xxii+445.

Mr. Lasker came to the Pacific Coast, and Hawaii, spent several months in first-hand observations in the latter part of 1929 and the first part of 1930; he has produced the only extensive study of Filipino immigration now available. The author brought to bear upon the problem an unusual skill in understanding race relations. His *Racial Attitudes of Children* is a guarantee that its author has a fine sense of human sympathy, an interest in fair play, and careful judgment.

Filipino Immigration is crowded with facts from cover to cover. The Coast, Hawaii and elsewhere have been combed for data. Not many have escaped Mr. Lasker's eagle eye. While he was not able to stay in one location long enough to make an independent statistical investigation of his own, he sensed the main issues well and ferreted out the disturbing factors. He maintains restraint in interpreting his data, leaving the reader to pause and to think for himself. He gives the main reasons for Filipino immigration to the United States, the economic and social problems of the Filipino immigrants, the problems that have been created in the United States, the Filipino problem in Hawaii, the causes of Filipino emigration from the Philippines, the reasons for the exclusion movement in the United States, the case for and against exclusion. While there are gaps in the account and while the organization of materials is somewhat unwieldy, Mr. Lasker has succeeded unusually well in presenting a detailed picture. He refrains from taking sides in a difficult and complicated human question. He concludes with a question that sums up the whole issue: "Can the movement of Filipinos to the mainland of the United States be stopped in the immediate future without injury to American foreign relations in the Far East, without precipitating an unwise and dangerous change in our political relations with the Philippine Islands, without upsetting the labor situation in Hawaii, without prejudice to the legitimate ambitions of the Filipino people themselves?" The answer is involved and partially technical, but the author does not venture to give it.

E. S. B.

THE LAW OF NEWSPAPERS. By WILLIAM R. ARTHUR AND RALPH L. CROSMAN. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1928, pp. xxiii+374.

This book is intended primarily as a textbook for students in journalism, but it will also be useful as a handbook for newspapermen and others interested in the legal phases of such subjects as libel, slander, sedition, copyrights, and contempt of court. Most of the volume, however, is devoted to the subject of libel which, according to the authors, is "the greatest legal hazard the newspaper encounters." The book has been built up in the classroom. "Fundamental principles are presented briefly and are then illustrated with an actual case and court decision." All of which should make it especially well adapted for the student of journalism.

R. M. Y.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By JOSEPH K. FOLSOM. Harper & Bros., New York, 1931, pp. xviii+701.

The author of this latest and lengthy treatise on Social Psychology believes strongly in the utilitarianism of the subject, holding that its primary purpose is "to teach human beings how to live more successfully one with another." This is a laudable motive, but one difficult of accomplishment; indeed, states Professor Folsom, it will have to be popularized or socialized for the masses. Perhaps he himself will do that in another book, for the present text could hardly be accused of being devoted to a mass appeal. In it, rather, is an attempt made to synthesize three approaches to social psychology, those of individual psychology, social *interactionology*, and cultural sociology. This is not an easy undertaking, and what really seems to happen here, is that social psychology becomes a kind of glorified sociology, resting upon the most recent developments in psychology, social psychology, behaviorism, and anthropology. What would Professor Folsom's text in Sociology be like? Nevertheless, the book turns out to be a valuable one for the expert, at any rate. It contains valuable summaries gleaned from important investigations and researches in the field of human interaction, and has much new material illustrating social situations in their unfolding and development. Two very fine chapters are those on "Patterns of Behavioristic Interaction" and on the "Psychology of Cultural Change." The text is further supplied with forty analytic diagrams, a few of which are so complicated that their value is doubtful, at least for the novice. Certainly, there is wealth of material here, and the volume will be splendid for consultation and reference.

M. J. V.

SOCIAL PROCESS IN ORGANIZED GROUPS. By GRACE L. COYLE. Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York, 1930, pp. xiv+245.

This volume is the initial one in a new series called "A Library of Social Interpretations," edited by R. M. MacIver of Columbia University. The editor commends the volume particularly because it "throws new light on the conditions of group morale and on the significant role of ritual and symbol in modern societies." The author accepts Simmel's conception of social processes as "forms of reciprocal relations," and as distinguished from "the psychological attitudes of the composing individuals and from the factual content of the purpose of the group." One of these processes, which the author

describes, is that of "social generalization," or the building up of social stereotypes. The coming of a Polish steel worker into a community at once arouses "the meanings attached to Poles, to workers, to foreigners, to Catholics, to men." Every community has a host of these social generalizations. Another social process is that of social evaluation. As social generalization "groups individuals with common traits," so the process of social evaluation "assigns to each group its rank in the established prestige scale." As a result of social generalization and evaluation the feeling of social distance eventuates. The author gives considerable space to the process of group formation, the determination of membership in groups, the evolution of group structure, the process of communication, the development of *esprit de corps*, the process of collective thinking, and the functions of leadership. The functions of the leaders are those of assuming authority, responsibility, and "essentially that of synthesis." A carefully prepared bibliography is included in this refreshing analysis of group sociology.

E. S. B.

AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY OF THE FAMILY. By EDGAR Schmiedeler, The Century Company, 1930, pp. 384.

This book is designed as an elementary textbook on the family for the use of college students in sociology. It is published under the Century Catholic College Texts series. It purports to be an examination of the chief findings of modern social science in regard to the family, treated from the Christian point of view, and with special attention given to the influence of the Church upon the family. The book is divided into three parts, dealing respectively with the integrated, the disintegrated, and the re-integrated family. The author indicates how economic, religious, educational, recreational, and affectional factors served to bind the family group of the past into an integrated whole. This is followed by a consideration of the disintegrating tendencies and the evidences of disorganized families. In the final part the possible remedies and solutions of the ills and problems of the family are considered, giving special attention to premarital preparation, the qualifications of the mate, the relation of the Church, State, and education to the family. The book is well written and the viewpoint is wholesome. It is admirably fitted for the purpose for which it is designed.

M. H. N.

DYNAMITE. THE STORY OF CLASS VIOLENCE IN AMERICA. By LOUIS ADAMIC. The Viking Press, New York, 1931, pp. x+452.

"Good things of day begin to droop and drowse,
Whiles night's black agents to their preys do rouse."

And so the story of violence goes on, narratives of dark events, evil deeds accompanied by horrid shrieks and murderous yells. Indeed, Mr. Adamic confesses that he has here written a sinister tale, and yet 'tis a side of the "story of American industry, . . . the under-dog and those who, like myself, are incapable of being indifferent to misery and crime and other tendencies that are undermining the people's character and driving men wholesale to sabotage, striking-on-the-job, and into racketeering."

It took courage to write this book which traces the history of the use of violence by those two old enemies, capital and labor, from the days of the Molly Maguires to the present reign of Caponeism; it will take more courage to see that it is read by those who need the vision it presents. There stalks through its pages a dark, foreboding shadow, ill omen of the future; present-day leaders in industry will do well to heed the revelations. One thing is brought out forcefully, and that is that those who resent most the tactics of the under-dog have been most responsible for his being here at all, since he was imported from Europe when it was found that native American labor had gotten "too independent in regard to wages and working hours." Lo, it was "the American industrialist who imported these foreigners and then treated them inhumanly." What a tragic epic could be made of this!

Those who really love the United States must sooner or later come to see and understand that violence always has a deep-rooted cause, that people are not necessarily born violent, that violence cannot be eradicated without a removal of the social conditions which have fertilized it. As Sorel has pointed out, and as Adamic emphasizes, violence re-occurs because of its effectiveness. Seemingly, there is nothing quite like dynamite to awaken those who are maddened with their utter selfishness. They will not reason until brought to bay. The author points out, as other careful students have done, that "only a very small number of American employers possess the intelligence, humanity, and managerial ability" to take proper care of their employees. What are we going to do about it? What next? More dynamite? Come, let us reason together. The book is a gauntlet to the American employer.

M. J. V.

ROBOTS OR MEN? By H. DUBREUIL. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1930, pp. xi+248. H. Dubreuil, a French mechanic, came to the United States during the prosperous year of 1927, in order to make a study of the American industrial system, especially as that system affects the worker. As a piece of scientific writing, it proves to be almost worthless, and as a study of the worker, it is a downright disappointment. One rather suspects that he came at the invitation of the Taylor Society for the report turns out to be a eulogium of the Taylor system, or as the representatives of that system would say, scientific management. In fact, the book should have been spared the unrestrained praise given it in the introduction by Mr. Person, managing director of the Taylor Society, for this marks the book with the stigma of propagandism, and forewarns the reader of a fulfillment which is carried out in extremes.

Nowhere in the book can I find any attempt made to understand scientifically and impartially the attitudes of the industrial workers. All of the reports must be taken for generalized rationalizations, which even at that, do not bear out the findings of our own impartial experts. One has but to compare the investigations of Messrs. Paul U. Kellogg and Ben. M. Selekman with those of H. Dubreuil to note the latter's shortcomings. The author states that he went about exactly under the same conditions as the American worker. I doubt it. In some instances, his employers were well aware of the purpose of his employment and its mission; in any event, it would be impossible to entertain the same mental state as that of the worker who knew that he must work for the sake of existing, when he himself was working for the sake of reporting later what the conditions of employment were like; language difficulties seem to have made it impossible for him to even understand what was on the workers' minds, for nowhere does one come across those intimacies of contact which are so fruitful for the investigator of attitudes.

As a book of interesting travel experiences in industrial establishments by an alien, it is worth reading. The author is gifted with a good sense of humor and that makes the narrative interesting. But he has failed to contribute to any new understanding of the problems of American industrial life. He should revisit, and without entangling alliances.

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THE PROMISE OF YOUTH. By B. S. BURKS, D. W. JENSEN, LEWIS M. TERMAN, and others. Volume III in *Genetic Studies of Genius*. Stanford University Press, 1930, pp. xiv+508. This volume contains "follow-up studies of a thousand gifted children." These gifted children were first studied in 1921-22; they all had intelligence quotients of 140 or over. The second study has been made seven years after the first and was designed to complete the picture of gifted adolescents. One question that is discussed is: How well does the mental ability of these children hold up on the average? Very few have increased, but the intelligence quotient of 35 girls dropped 13 points on the average and of 38 boys, three points on an average. Why did the girls show a greater decline than the boys? The answer is found not in health, in personality traits, in racial differences, in family circumstances, but in "change of rate" factors inherent in the individuals concerned; such factors are correlated with sex. Boys retain a high IQ as they advance in age better than girls do, is the conclusion. Other observations are: that gifted children seek companionship of older persons to an increasing degree as they grow older; that gifted children present serious behavior or personality problems in "not more than half the proportion to be found among unselected children of corresponding age"; that the gifted are above the average in play interests; that extreme precocity unavoidably "complicates the problem of social adjustment"; that the gifted should marry the gifted and not "the less well endowed." This volume is full of facts and figures. While the study is noticeably lacking in the presentation of attitudes and values held by the gifted, of their deep-seated reactions to life, of the meanings of life to them, of their social participation and efficiency, it is painstaking, illuminating, original and worthwhile.

E. S. B.

RED BREAD. By MAURICE HINDUS. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, Inc., New York, 1931, pp. 372. In this book the author portrays the life of the peasantry and proletariat of Russia in such fashion that one can feel the actual suffering of the people as they either resist or submit to the dictatorial policies of the Soviet regime. Eventually there remains no choice except to comply, but the loss of individuality and of freedom even with extreme poverty, as the peasants have to yield up their land, livestock, and property in general, to join the "Kolhoz" or collective farm, seems mildly described by the phrase, mental anguish. The people are bearing a heavy load of sorrow, and they mistrust the promises of the Communists. The movement is evidently not founded on the will of the masses, but is coercively, heartlessly, and unswervingly being carried on by the workers in the Communist Party. It seems to be a defensive measure necessary for the existence of the Soviet regime in Russia, and of course, is a part of the Five Year Plan. More than ever, it is dangerous to be a property owner in Russia. It seems as if the Koolacks will soon have passed out of existence in Russian society, as the Kolhoz movement succeeds.

On the other hand, of particular interest is the change of attitude or opinion during the last several years, as one compares *Humanity Uprooted* with the present book. The Russian appetite for material enjoyment has been enlarged, and the movement to collectivize the farms has fully taken advantage of the situation. The people have in marked degree become reconciled to some of the institutional changes which were so hardly fought at the time of innovation, yet the onward march of Communism constantly brings new angles to dread and worry about. Probably the issues of the present will soon be accepted—inevitably so—but only after the will and personality of a people have been broken and destroyed. One can only sympathize, and question the wisdom of the step, as the Russians are forced back into serfdom, where they have no more rights or status than if they were so many worms. Nevertheless, the changes being wrought by the Communist regime are interesting, and no other social experiment happens to be quite so intriguing to watch these days, not even Fascism in Italy, although it is also a movement of world import. This new book by Hindus will surely be one of the most widely read on Russia.

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of themselves. Hence the book supports the Fish Commission which investigated the Russian Communistic activities in the United States, and ridicules the American Civil Liberties Union which opposed such investigation and findings.

J. E. N.

JUNGLE WAYS. By WILLIAM B. SEABROOK. Harcourt, Brace & Company, New York, 1931, pp. 308. The Yafouba Tribes, Guéré Cannibals, Mossi Tribes, and Habbé Cliff Dwellers, are the African peoples about whom Seabrook writes his narrative. He mentions a number of interesting "jungle ways" observed while visiting each tribe, but it is essentially a book of travel, with no especial scientific appeal for the sociologist and anthropologist. Granting that his book is interesting in its way, yet it is a real fault that he is so egocentric. If only he could have left himself out of the picture, and then have given a larger measure of attention to the life of the natives. His own experiences are apparently of more concern than the customs and thoughts of the people who made him their guest. And he has given rather too much space to sex, his treatment of data is needlessly crude, and he should be able to write without cuss words. Seabrook is pragmatic and he will try anything once. Thus cannibalism, for instance, must be experienced if he is to write about it. He must *taste* human flesh. And *his own* impressions of such a dish make cannibal rites worthy of his pen.

J. E. N.

CAN THESE THINGS BE. By GEORGE SELDES. Brewer, Warren & Putnam, New York, 1931. This book features, in sensational exposition, data ordinarily not available concerning dictatorships, soviet and fascist policies and plots in particular, vast preparations for war by the world powers, news censorship, and special items about such personalities as Mussolini, Isadora Duncan, and Carol of the Balkans. Startling is the information given about Russia and Italy, and also about the delicate state of European relations. Not only will the reader be shocked, he will be warmed up quite a bit as he realizes what horrors have been and are being committed in the name of social movements such as Communism and Fascism. The book is very much in the same vein as *You Can't Print That*, which is by the same author.

J. E. N.

FARM CHILDREN. By BIRD T. BALDWIN, EVA A. FILLMORE, LORA HADLEY. D Appleton & Co., 1930, pp. 337. A report of an investigation of rural child life in selected areas of Iowa, conducted by the Iowa Child Welfare Research. The object of the study was to determine the factors that influence the physical, mental, educational, and social development of farm children in certain localities. The book is divided into five parts, dealing with the historical background, environment of farm children, the life of farm children, the physical and mental development of farm children, and the individuality of the rural community.

POVERTY AND THE STATE: A STUDY OF ENGLISH CONDITIONS. By GILBERT SLATER. Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York, 1930, pp. 480. This book is based on a series of lectures and pertains to the poverty conditions in England with special reference to the historical and present-day methods of treatment. Poverty is intensified in modern cities and as a result of industrialization, unemployment is the greatest cause of poverty at the present time. As poverty increases the State is forced to assume added responsibility in caring for the poor.

THE BEHAVIOR OF YOUNG CHILDREN. By ETHEL B. WARING AND MARGUERITE WALKER. Parts I and II. Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1930, pp. xi+121 and xii+151.

Pacific Sociological Society Notes

Speaking with his characteristic wit and frankness Dr. Edward Alsworth Ross on the evening of July 10, addressed a joint meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society and Alpha Kappa Delta of the University of Southern California on the topic "A Look at Asia."

The talk, utilizing first hand information, led the audience through Japan, China, the Philippines, Java, Siam, India, Egypt, and Palestine; with pauses of sufficient duration to point out the most outstanding and socially significant facts. Japan is an advancing nation and in more ways than one follows the lead of the United States. For example, when the United States, a big nation, feels the need for more battleships, Japan notices this; and what can we expect Japan, a small nation, to do but follow suit? That is why armament production leads to a vicious circle. "We should feel proud of what has been done in the Philippines," said Dr. Ross, "for there the exploiters have not had their way." The opinion was expressed that independence would be granted them in six or eight years for two reasons: (1) American sugar producers are protesting tariff-free sugar—but there can be no tariff while the Philippines are American; (2) Filipinos are coming into this country and causing trouble by virtue of competition—but they cannot be barred while their country is an American possession. The Dutch in Java have an extensive program whereby Java makes money for the Dutch. Westernization is discouraged and expansion encouraged; a high birthrate insures utilization of all available land, and ignorance insures ease of Dutch control. A similar policy characterized the British Egyptian rule, for since the British government has given Egypt more freedom, school development has increased fivefold. Palestine has plenty of land and with the adoption of modern methods she will produce some of the world's finest dates, grapes, tomatoes, and other farm products. Of all the Asiatic countries, Siam is one of the best governed and happiest.

Asiatic culture is not adequate for competition with the West hence Asia must: (1) Solve her population problem—she has lowered her death rate, but as yet, not her birthrate; (2) Give up her subjugation of women; (3) Give up the exploitation of children. "It will be interesting to watch Asia in the next forty years and see her junk a lot of inherited culture and appropriate Western culture at lightning speed."

G. D. N.

International Notes

Edited by JOHN ERIC NORDSKOG

THE HOOVER MORATORIUM for the relief of world depression has shown how inseparable are politics and economics in international relations. Of course the year of delay (procrastination) for certain international debt settlements does not even begin to dispose of the reparations problem. Thus far the nations have simply borrowed from Peter to pay Paul, knowing that a sad day of reckoning was at the end of the road. The moratorium may provide a chance for popular education and for a stiffening of courage to undertake radical revision, or better, cancellation of reparations. Economic and political maladjustment in Europe, with no less direct influence on conditions in the United States, should have taught everyone by now that the system of reparations is wrong and impossible, and that such exaction against Germany is unmitigated foolishness. To drive into real or near bankruptcy any country such as Germany, with her undeniable importance and capacity for leadership, would spell catastrophe for the other major nations of the world. France unwittingly brought this to a focus when she tied strings of political guarantees to her unwilling relief proposals recently offered to hard-pressed Germany. What a shock, that France would thus bargain for "security." Yet of all nations in Europe, it seems that none are so well prepared for war as is France. No other nation seems as well equipped with military power to urge national causes in Europe or in spheres of influence.

The Moratorium plan to save Germany was a last-minute expedient, and may have to be followed by other similar delays, but it has served at least one good purpose: it has shown how flimsy has been the fabric of international good will, and it has exposed the real France in embarrassing political moves. Briand's vaunted program for a United States of Europe deserves hearty support and may be sincere, but for the French people it fails to ring true when some of their expressed views on related affairs are considered. There is, for instance, the French antagonism to the German-Austrian lowering of tariffs; the French policy of alliances, such that she creates a league within the League, as a barrier against Russia, Germany, and

Italy; the large standing army, and a military expenditure of \$750,000,000; and her leadership in war planes, her naval armament. France is equipped far beyond her needs for defense. Thus she is a living threat for offensive war. France needs to learn what is meant by cooperation. Until she can cooperate, France is the real problem in Europe, and a hazard for world peace. A serious fiasco such as France nearly caused by her reactions to the Hoover plan and Germany's pleas for aid, would doubtless endanger western capitalist civilization, if countries are again driven to such extremities as recently experienced in Germany, nor is the latter a closed issue.

To return to the reparations: is it not sufficiently obvious that cancellation is necessary and eventually unavoidable? Practically the world over, tariff barriers are up against German exports. Governments cannot insist upon payment of reparations and at the same time refuse German goods. Billions of dollars of international trade is suffering or choked off by barriers. It hurts all Europe and the Americas too. Europe, say, cannot recover without a readjustment of reparations at least, and the Versailles treaty needs revision in the light of developments to provide for fair play free from French dictation. General disarmament is equally necessary. What has France at stake, for instance, more than other nations, that she should consistently insist upon the continuance of armaments, high tariff barriers, and a hard-fisted financial policy as the banker of Europe? That country surely needs not fear Germany. Perhaps it is Russia or Italy, or both. Nor is much love lost between France and England. Yet England's attitudes agree better with international cooperation, and France is behaving in a stubborn, wilful manner which is at best very trying to other nations.

POPE PIUS XI and Premier Mussolini are threshing out once again the medieval problem of the respective power of Church and State. Those familiar with contributions to social thought by St. Augustine, Aquinas, Dante, Luther, and others, should find the present duel for power in Italy quite interesting. Mussolini is definitely trying to wield control over the population; even little boys and girls are obliged to take oath to execute orders (fascist) without discussion, from an authority (Il Duce) which "can give orders against all truth and justice." The quotation is from the Pope, who declares the oath illicit. The Pope, while flaying the Fascists, suggests that the one subscribing to the oath may do so "with secret reservations."

Mussolini, as a slap against Papal authority, decreed that members of Catholic organizations cannot also be members of Fascist organizations. However, the Fascists are leaving open to the Pope certain opportunities for activity as a spiritual power in Italy, subject to limitations on whatever political ambitions the Church might have. Mussolini is taking a by no means secondary position in the struggle. Rather, in his Fascist way, he is dominating the situation in so far as political control is concerned, and it is a truly fearless man who would defend against him the status and claims of the Vatican as Pope Pius XI has done. When the Pope refers to Fascist leaders as blind, one might interpolate instead, they are tirelessly opportunist. That is the essence of Fascism.

THE WORLD CONFERENCE for the Limitation of Narcotics Manufacture, in session at Geneva for several weeks during June and July, has shown that it is nearly as difficult to agree on the production and distribution of narcotics as it is for wheat or iron ore. For years the British, French, and German producers have had practically an export monopoly, but American delegates showed statistically that the world need for such drugs is not of such quantity as to warrant a quota system or cartel agreement. Besides these monopolists, mention is due Turkey's narcotic trade which regularly has found illicit outlets. While drawing up the Convention, a British proposal against the destruction of drugs seized in illicit trade was voted down. An Anglo-Dutch proposal to allow manufacturers to make any quantities of narcotics which their governments might allow, also failed to carry. American delegates insisted that seizures of illicit drugs often reenter contraband trade, and that the piling up of surplus stocks by manufacturers in any country causes a dangerous international problem. As a result of the new Convention, seized narcotics are to be destroyed. Full provision is made to control the export and import of all kinds of habit-forming drugs. All synthetic drugs are also included. Special central government offices are to be provided in each country to put the control and the limitation into effect. To prevent evasions, newly created drugs and preparations are subject to similar restrictions. It is suggested that drugs listed in the Convention be excluded from "most-favored-nations" clauses in future trade treaties. Limitation becomes effective at the stage of manufacture, and is to be proportionate to the world's medical needs, allowing also for scientific requirements within estimates of their

needs. Hitherto there has been no limit. This treaty is to go into force ninety days after ratification by some twenty nations, including the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, The Netherlands, and Switzerland. It was signed about the middle of July. The United States is signatory but with reservations which are required juridically since this nation is not a member of the League of Nations, also to avoid acknowledgment of the Russian Government, which is another signer to the Convention. Turkey, Jugo-Slavia, and Persia did not sign. In fine, here is evidence of progress in international cooperation to curb the narcotic vice, although the agreement was reached by no easy road.

STALIN was no weakling when he urged labor changes in Russia, beginning during July. Some of the changes sound capitalistic, but one must not be misled. Stalin recognized the need to readjust wages so as to make the scale commensurate with the kind of work performed; the mobility of labor from place to place required a check; it became necessary to facilitate the movement of more workers from agriculture to industry; in similar vein, to foster and improve labor organization in industry, especially to promote responsibility. It is important that there be developed Russian intelligentsia and specialists, engineers and technicians, and one contributory way is to attract the formerly spurned "intelligentsia" back into the industrial fold. Likewise Stalin finds it expedient to increase Russia's self-sufficiency in raw materials, to further the piece-work system, and to give opportunity to individualistic business administration. Stalin says that "even under Socialism wages must be paid according to the work done and not according to the needs of the workers." Thus he returns to a set of economic values which some have impulsively taken as indicative of the failure of the Plan and of Communism in Russia. But be it noted, Russia has never even approached Communism. The situation is rather, that the Soviet government has thus far been preparing the way for Socialism, which is introductory to Communism. Stalin might alter his policies for expediency, but it does not signify failure. In the race for reconstruction of Russia, a breathing and resting point may serve to renew energy. These changes may improve the attitudes of many Russians who have failed to work with expected good will. Russia is taking stock, materially and humanly. More important, Russia is learning how to plan economically and socially on a gigantic scale. What other nation can say as much?

Social Research Notes

Edited by MARTIN H. NEUMEYER

REPORT ON PENAL INSTITUTIONS, PROBATION AND PAROLE. Nine reports have been issued by the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, headed by George W. Wickersham, beginning with reports on prohibition and followed by others on criminal statistics, prosecution, deportation laws, chief offenders in the Federal System of justice, Federal courts, criminal procedure, and the ninth on penal institutions, probation and parole. All are summary reports based on extensive investigations.

Our penal institutions number more than 3,000, with nearly 400,000 human beings passing through their gates each year, of which more than half are under thirty years of age. The majority of these are short-term prisoners but 100,000 in the one hundred Federal and State prisons constitute long-term prisoners. The average per capita cost per inmate in the larger institutions is nearly \$350. Over a third of all prisons still in use were built over seventy years ago. The old cell-block system as first constructed in Auburn in 1819 still stands. The Federal census bureau gives overcrowding in prisons and reformatories for 1927 as 19.1 per cent more than the original capacity. Federal prisons are 61.7 per cent overcrowded.

The recital of conditions in our prisons leads to the conclusion that "the present prison system is antiquated and inefficient. It does not reform the criminal. It fails to protect society. There is reason to believe that it contributes to the increase of crime by hardening the prisoner." Sanitary and health conditions are inadequate. The tubercular, insane, venereally diseased, feeble-minded, drug addict, sex pervert, aged and feeble, are frequently not separated from the general prison population. Prison discipline is antiquated and unintelligent and not infrequently cruel and inhuman. Officials lack training for this work. Prisoners are given insufficient work. The educational program is inadequately financed and staffed. Reformatories are little better than prisons, except those for women prisoners. Recommendations are added for the improvement of these and other conditions. The report on probation and parole reveals a more hopeful situation.

The second half of the report is written by the advisory committee, covering somewhat the same ground, but from a more practical angle. A special report on police jails and village lockups is appended. Questionnaires were sent out to about 15,000 cities and villages. Po-

lice jails and village lockups outnumber all other prisons, about three to one. During six months in 1930, 1,350,000 persons were committed to these institutions. "The majority of the 11,000 police jails and lockups are literally a public nuisance."

SOCIAL CHANGES IN 1930. The May issue of the *American Journal of Sociology*, and a subsequent reprint edited by W. F. Ogburn, is the fourth annual series of research papers on social changes in the major fields of social endeavor.

From 1920 to 1930, natural increase contributed over four times as much to population growth as did immigration, but annual increases are declining, due in part to less immigration, but chiefly to a decline of one-seventh in the number of births. Industrial states and cities are growing rapidly, yet one hundred and two cities of over ten thousand lost in population during the decade.

The year 1930 witnessed sharp reduction in manufacturing and mining activity and the severe drought resulted in a reduction in total crop output. The international repercussions of the Smoot-Hawley tariff further affected our economic life. There was an unprecedented decrease in strikes due to the depression and the general weakening of unions. Wage earners were seriously impaired due to losses entailed by unemployment and the reduction of wages in many instances. With few exceptions, unemployment increased and the payrolls decreased, especially in the industrial groups. The farm situation is steadily growing worse. Building and road construction offered reemployment for some. The changes in social and labor legislation were chiefly along the line of old age pensions and poor relief, the improvement of workmen's compensation laws, and the extension of federal vocational rehabilitation. Neighborhood relief, however, supplied the bulk of relief in unemployment crisis, but was woefully inadequate.

The people in the United States apparently enjoyed better health than ever before in spite of unemployment and drought. Health facilities are increasing. The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection aroused general interest. Although there are evidences that a saturation point has been reached in the utilization of some of the mediums of communication, notably the automobile and the newspaper, yet there is a general increase of communication. Women made gains in political status, six women being elected to the House of Representatives and one hundred and forty-five in legislatures in thirty-nine states. Organized religion is stimulating a steady interest in international peace, as well as internal social prob-

lems. The Negro and Indian situations have shown improvements in so far as race relations are concerned.

RURAL COMMUNITY STUDIES. The Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station has recently issued several bulletins on rural community life. Bulletin 523, by Bruce L. Melvin, on *The Sociology of the Village and the Surrounding Territory*, reports a study of social change occasioned by outside contacts. Improved methods of living and standards of life on the part of rural people, and the extension of the services rendered by the agencies, institutions, and organizations of the cities into rural sections have changed the social organization of the rural world. The breaking down of neighborhoods and community organization and the urbanization process are the chief evidences of social change.

Bulletin 524, by Ray E. Wakely, *The Communities of Schuyler County, New York*, is based on a study of community life centering in an incorporated town, three incorporated villages, and nineteen unincorporated places. The organizations of these centers and the activities promoted by them are given special consideration. The method of analysis follows the techniques developed by Galpin, Kolb, Sanderson, and Brunner. The population of the incorporated places has remained practically stationary since 1900, but the hamlets decreased 45.8 per cent and the unincorporated villages decreased 27.3 per cent from 1874 to 1927. None of these centers were found to be self-sufficient. Communities are mostly quite unorganized. The Church and the grange are the two most important forms of social organization. The economic service agencies center largely in the town and larger villages.

William W. Reitz, in an abstract of a thesis on *A Vocational Guidance Program Based on the Needs and Resources of a Rural Community*, makes an analysis of the resources of the Interlaken community in New York State in order to determine a suitable vocational guidance program. There are 1,045 persons engaged in 105 vocations. Vocational study classes, reading, observational visits, vocational survey, try-out activities, vocational tests, and counseling on choice of vocations are recommended.

RURAL STANDARD OF LIVING: A Selected Bibliography. An annotated bibliography of the important works on rural standards of living, especially the publications since 1920, has been compiled. Most of the references given are reports of researches which have been conducted in this field. Compiled by Louise O. Bercau, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Miscellaneous Publication No. 116*, July, 1931.

Social Drama Notes

BRASS ANKLE. A play in three acts. By DU BOSE HEYWARD.
Farrar & Rinehart, New York, 1931, pp. 133.

What are we going to do with race prejudice as it exists in the South today? Du Bose Heyward, in his new play, which by the way is not a second *Porgy*, pounds out this theme in no uncertain terms. *Brass Ankle* tells the story of Ruth Leamer, who unknowingly possesses a black ancestor. Her husband, Larry, has just succeeded in establishing a community in the South which he hopes will be free from black blood. The citizens of the community are fiercely antagonistic toward the blacks, and this extends to those creatures who, while able to pass for whites, are yet possessed of negro genes. In fact, at the moment they are earnestly engaged in attempting to drive a family of such children from the school of the place. Larry is the leader, being extremely anxious on account of his fair-haired daughter, June. Moreover, he is awaiting the arrival of a new son. Fate enters the door, and presents Mrs. Leamer with a throw-back in the form of a black son. The misfortune is staggering. How can he ever face his neighbors again? Ruth suggests that she take herself and the unfortunate babe away. That plan does not solve the future of her daughter, however, for the black blood has been planted in her forever. Ruth will not have her sacrificed. She knows the community sentiment only too well. Calling in the neighbors, she shows them the black child, and tells them that she is of pure white stock, but that her new babe is the result of an indiscretion with a negro youth. Larry, maddened now beyond human endurance, seizes a shotgun and kills her with the babe in her arms.

The play is harrowing, and no one can read this last scene and escape the tremendous power of the tragedy. Racial prejudice is a bitter thing, and there seems to be no escape from it save through such tragic occurrences; at least the author must think this.

M. J. V.

News Notes

One of the newest chapters of Alpha Kappa Delta is the Gamma Chapter of Pomona College and Scripps, Claremont, California. The year 1930-31 was a highly successful one for the chapter. A varied program included addresses by Dr. George Albert Coe of Teachers College, Columbia, on "Reconstructing Standards in a Changing World," and Dr. George Day of Occidental College, on "Trends of Social Change in Russia," as well as several reports by alumni who are now engaged in social work. The chapter was also represented at the combined Alpha Kappa Delta, Pacific Sociological Society banquet held July 10. The officers under whose guidance the above program was engineered were Dr. J. S. Burgess, Pomona; Elizabeth Bode, Pomona; and Maria Paraschivescu, Pomona.

Professor Leopold von Wiese of the University of Cologne will be traveling in India, Burma, and Malaysia during the fall and early winter of 1931 for the purpose of gathering material for his forthcoming *Bio-Sociology*, one of the series of detailed sociological studies outlined in and complementing his *General Sociology*. He will be in Ceylon and southern India during October, and will then go by way of Bombay to northern and northwestern India and then to Burma, arriving in Malaysia early in December, where he will stay until his return journey from Singapore shortly before Christmas. He is especially desirous of meeting any American sociologists who happen to be in the same or adjacent regions during the periods named; exchange of scientific views and establishment of personal acquaintance would be welcomed. Letters addressed to the *Forschungsinstitut für Sozialwissenschaften* at the University of Cologne will be forwarded if so marked.

G. D. N.

It is desired to correct here two errors which appeared in the article by Howard Becker entitled "Conquest by Nomads" in the July-August, 1931, issue of this journal. The subtitle should have read "Prolegomena to a Study of Mental Mobility," instead of "Prolegomena to a Study of Mental Ability." F. J. Teggart's name incorrectly appeared as F. J. Taggart.